THE

LIFE

Of that Moſt Illuſtrious PRINCE,

Charles V.

Late DUKE of

Lorrain and Bar,

GENERALISSIMO

Of the Imperial Armies.

Rendred into *ENGLISH*

From the Copy lately Printed at *Vienna*, Written by a Perſon of Quality, and a Great Officer in the Imperial Army.

DEDICATED

To the KING's Moſt Excellent MAJESTY.

Printed for *Francis Saunders*, at the *Blue Anchor* in the Lower-Walk of the *New-Exchange*, 1691.

To the King.

AS the Memory of a Hero may Naturally Claim Your Majeſties Protection, ſo none ever had more Right to it, then the Great General here deſcribed. Succeeding Ages will admire his Fortune, and his Conduct; but the preſent is juſtly taken up in Celebrating Yours. His Prudence, and his Valour we find in You Excell'd, and Succeſs always attends Your Perſon.

May that Providence which has always ſhewn a Peculiar Care of Your Preſervation, be ſtill a Mighty Guardian againſt Yours, and the Nations Enemies; and after a Long Series of Happy Victories, may You be Crown'd with Immortality; Which are the hearty Prayers of,

May it Pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Your Majeſties moſt Faithful

and Devoted Subject

WILSON.

THE LIFE OF Charles V.

DUKE of Lorrain and Bar, And *Generaliſſimo* of all the Imperial Troops.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THE Houſe of *Lorrain* is a Houſe ſo well known, that 'twill be needleſs to enumerate ſo Ancient a Train of Succeſſions. I ſhall content my ſelf with acquainting you, that at the beginning of the Age laſt paſt, it divided it ſelf into two Branches, by the two Sons of *René* II. Duke of *Lorrain* and *Bar*. Which

two Sons of *René* were *Anthony* and *Claudius*.

The laſt, who was the Younger Brother, went into *France*, and Eſpouſed *Antonette* of *Bourbon*, Daughter of *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Count of *Vendoſm*; and ſignaliz'd himſelf by ſo many renowned Actions under the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt, that that Renowned Monarch, who no leſs rewarded Men of the Sword, then Perſons eminent for Learning, erected in his Favour the Territory of *Guiſe* into a Dukedom. And from that time the Princes of that Branch were called Dukes of *Guiſe*.

Anthony remain'd in *Lorrain* with the Eldeſt Branch, that enjoy'd the Dukedom; and he had a Son called *Francis* who ſucceeded him. *Charles* the III. ſucceeded *Francis*, and had three Sons; *Henry* who had only two Daughters, *Nicolé* and *Claudia*; *Charles*, afterwards made a Cardinal, and *Francis* Count of *Vaudemont*. This Count left two Sons, *Charles* the IV. and Duke *Francis*. *Charles* the IV. was Married with the Princeſs *Nicolé* his Couſin, by whom he had no Children: And Duke *Francis*, who was Cardinal, Eſpouſed the Princeſs *Claudia*, from whom deſcended *Charles* the V. the Hero whoſe Life we are now to write.

Charles the IV. touching whom it is neceſſary that I ſhould ſay ſomething, was Generous, and Hardy. He had a lively and ſtirring Genius. He was civil and complaiſant, well made as to his Perſon, in undertaking Bold, indefatigable in Labour, and patient in Adverſity. But with all theſe great Qualities, and an infinite number of others, he was ſo wavering in his

his Reſolutions, and ſometimes ſo great an Enemy to Counſels, which they who moſt ſincerely Eſpous'd his Intereſt gave him, that he became the moſt unfortunate Prince of his Age.

He ſucceeded *Henry* his Uncle; and during the time that he had the moſt peaceable Injoyment of his Territories, he embroyl'd himſelf with *France*, which precipated him into ſo many Misfortunes, that he could never extricate himſelf; and this was the Original.

The Preſident *de Bret*, Intendant of Juſtice in the City of *Mets*, had made a Decree touching ſome Pretenſions of the Country of *Meſſin*, which he maintain'd to belong to the Biſhoprick of the capital City of that Country. Though this Affair was of no grand Importance, *Charles* however took Fire at it; and without foreſeeing the events, having made the Emperor ſenſible that this was an Affair which concern'd him, becauſe of the Biſhoprick of *Vic*, which he then enjoy'd, and which was diſtinguiſh'd from that of *Mets*, he made him this Propoſal, That if for the maintenance of his Priviledges, he would ſend ſome Regiments, to take up their Winter Quarters in that Country; he on the other ſide, would engage to furniſh him underhand with what Money might be neceſſary to fortifie *Moyenvic*, which was a curb to the City of *Mets*, that by this means he might be in a condition to reſiſt the Enterprizes of the King of *France*.

Lewis the XIII, who Reign'd at that time, was then buſi'd at the Siege of *Rochel*. So that the Emperor, who believ'd he might make his Advantage of the opportunity, ſent ſuch a Force

into the Biſhoprick of *Vic*, which he thought neceſſary: And ſet himſelf to fortifie *Moyenvic*. The Duke Arms alſo of his ſide, under the pretence of defending his Territories. But though this feigned Precaution appear'd very lawful, *Lewis* XIII. ſoon ſaw through it; and therefore after a Years Siege, having reduc'd *Rochel*, he was fully reſolv'd to revenge himſelf upon the Duke, ere he turn'd his Arms elſewhere.

Madam *de Chevreuſe*, who was Marry'd to a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, at that time was fled to *Nanci*, being compell'd to abſent her ſelf from the Court of *France*, and from the Kingdom, for certain Intrigues which all the World knows. This Princeſs, concerning whom it was ſaid *, That ſhe kindled the Fire of Love in the Heart of all thoſe Princes with whom ſhe went to Negotiate, during the time that ſhe carried every where the Fire of War againſt *France*, being extreamly diſguſted by reaſon of her Baniſhment, forgat nothing to animate the Duke againſt *Lewis* the XIII; and ſhe had no great trouble to bring her Deſign to paſs, the Duke being already ſufficiently diſpos'd to it. For in ſhort, how little conſiderable the Uſurpation in diſpute, was, yet the conſequence might prove very pernitious. And indeed, this reſentment was very natural, it being no great ſatisfaction for a Prince to ſee that any one ſhould uſurp upon his Rights.

* *Procurat. Nanni.*

In the interim, the Duke not being ſtrong enough to reſiſt the King of *France*, he thought it beſt to Diſſemble, until a more favourable Conjuncture ſhould preſent it ſelf, than that, wherein his Affairs then were; and this

this Policy had ſuch good Succeſs, that *Lewis* the XIII. beginning no longer to diſtruſt him, turn'd his Forces towards *Italy*, that he might aſſiſt the Duke of *Mantua*, who had War with the Emperor.

During the time that theſe things paſt in *Italy*, *Monſieur* the Kings only Brother, diſſatisfied at the too great Favour of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who then abſolutely Govern'd *France*, departed the Kingdom, and withdrew himſelf into *Lorrain*, to the Dukes Court, where he Eſpouſed, ſometime after, * in Second Marriage, the Princeſs *Margaret*, youngeſt Daughter of the Count of *Vaudemont*, without the Conſent of the King his Brother. The Duke, who, had his Reaſons for managing the Humour of *Lewis* the XIII. informs him of the retirement of the Duke of *Orleans*; but the King nevertheleſs would not lay aſide his Suſpicions, that he held Intelligence with that Prince. And that which confirm'd him in this Suſpicion was, That the Duke had at that time on Foot an Army of more than Fourteen Thouſand Men. This Warlike Preparation which was conſiderable, and gave him a Jealouſie, oblig'd him to preſs the Duke of *Lorrain* to declare himſelf, or to lay down his Arms; and the Duke, who was not as yet in a Condition of undertaking any thing, after many Negotiations, carry'd his Men at length to the Emperor, who loſt the Battle of *Leipſic*, to the King of *Sweden*.

* *Gaſton John Baptiſte* of *France* Duke of *Orleans*, Eſpouſed *Margaret* of *Lorrain* at *Nancy*, in the year 1632.

Yet this was no hindrance, but that the King went to beſiege *Moyenvic*, ſome time after. The Duke receiv'd the News by a Poſt which the Count of *Vaudemont* his Father ſent him. Upon

which he made all the haſt imaginable to relieve the Place. But having loſt almoſt all his Men, e're he could come to a Battel, he thought the beſt courſe he could to take, was to find out the King; and ſo without pondering any farther, he went to *Mets*, where the King lay. 'Tis true, he had as Magnificent a Reception as he could have expected. However, the Siege was ſtill carried on; and the place was no ſooner deliver'd up, but the King expreſt himſelf thus to the Duke, 'Though he had 'manifeſted ſome Marks of good Will, never-'theleſs he was very much diſſatisfied touching 'his Conduct, and that if he deſir'd a Recon-'ciliation, he muſt yield him up *Marſal*.

Now in regard the Duke had put himſelf into the Hands of his Enemy, he was forc'd to undergo the Condition. Therefore by a Treaty which he Sign'd, he reſign'd *Marſal* as a Pledge for four years to *France*, to the great diſſatisfaction of all his Friends, and above all of the Duke his Father, who was extreamly troubled at it. After this he return'd to *Nancy*.

One would have imagin'd that this ill Succeſs would have made this Prince ſenſible, that he was not as yet in a Condition to reſiſt *France*. All thoſe who tender'd his Intereſt, and who had any Acceſs to him, Counſell'd him to be quiet, for fear of bringing on himſelf ſome new Misfortunes. But liſtning to no Body but his own great Heart on this Occaſion, and being as it were in Deſpair, for that the King of *France*, having taken the Advantage of his Sincerity, had conſtrain'd him to deliver up *Marſal*, he Levies new Forces, and the better to conceal his deſign, he made as if it were to fall upon the King of *Sweden*.

Lewis

Lewis the XIII, who had made a League with that King, and who was glad to have any pretence, did not only acquaint the Duke, that it was the ſame thing to take Arms againſt him, as againſt a Prince who was his Ally; but that he might make him uncapable of undertaking any thing, marches at the ſame time toward *Lorrain* with a conſiderable Army.

The Duke was much allarm'd at this News, and as he knew not what Courſe to take to oppoſe the Kings Forces, he ſent the Cardinal his Brother, Duke *Francis*, to meet the King, and acquaiat him that it was not his deſign to contend with him. But all this tended to no other Concluſion, but that he muſt deliver up four Places as Gages for his Fidelity, *viz. Stenay*, *Clermont*, *Jamets*, and *Dun*; which being perform'd, he promis'd him that he would protect him againſt the *Swedes*, who threatned to enter to his Country, and burn it.

For the King of *Sweden* was an Enemy no leſs to be fear'd than the King of *France*. And therefore the Dukes Friends would frequently remonſtrate to him, that there was great Policy requiſite in the managing thoſe two Princes; that he muſt wait for a favourable Opportunity, if he deſign'd to make War, and not raſhly embark himſelf into any new Enterprizes. He had loſt all the Hopes which he could have propoſed of Benefit and Advantage from the Diſcontent of the Kings Brother, by the defeat of the Duke of *Montmorenci*, and the *Swedes* ſtrook terrour into all places wherever they came. In the mean time, though there was not any appearance that he could have

the leaſt Advantage in the World over his Enemies, as his Affairs then ſtood, yet he flatter'd himſelf with a thouſand Hopes. He Ordered his Army to march againſt the Suedes, and endeavour to raiſe the Siege before *Haguenau*, and to relieve *Briſac*, which the Swedes had blockt up for ſome conſiderable time. But this attempt was ſo far from ſucceeding well, that it prov'd utterly Deplorable. For though the Swedes were forc'd to raiſe their Siege from before *Haguenau*; whithin two Leagues of that Place they gave Battel to the *Lorrain* Army, which was ſo furiouſly fought on both ſides, and Fortune ſo fantaſtick, that both Armies were Routed. And whilſt theſe things were a doing, a French Army enters into *Lorrain* with a deſign to Beſiege *Nancy*; *Lewis* the XIII. aſſuming this for a pretence, That the Duke had not punctually obſerv'd the Conditions of the Treaty, which had been Concluded with him.

This is moſt certain, that if the Duke at his arrival had perform'd what he might have done, he might have broken all the King of *France*'s Meaſures. For *S. Chamant*, who Commanded the French, had no more than Four Thouſand Men with him, when he came to inveſt that Place. In ſo much that the Duke might have forc'd him to quit his Poſt, ere he had receiv'd any Aſſiſtance. But in lieu of making the attempt, he had recourſe to a Negotiation. Only he haſtily puts all things into what Order he could for the Defence of *Nanci*; into which he clapp'd about Three or Four Thouſand Foot, and Two or Three Hundred Horſe,

Horſe, and retiring into the Mountains of *Voges* with ſome ſmall Forces to defend the Avenues, he ſends his Brother the Cardinal to find out the King, and acquaint him with his Reaſons. The King receives him, after his uſual manner, with great Marks of Diſtinction; and declar'd, That if he had been only to Treat with him, he ſhould have received all the Favour that he could have expected from him; ſo fully he was perſwaded of his Sincerity and juſt Dealing: But ſeeing he could not any longer depend upon any Word of his Brother the Duke, it was neceſſary that for a Pledge of his Fidelity he ſhould reſign up to him the City of *Nanci*.

This Condition was too ſevere to be accepted by the Duke. In the interim the King comes in Perſon before the Place, and ſpares nothing to make himſelf Maſter of it. On the other ſide the Cardinal of *Lorrain* went backwards and forwards uſing all his endeavours to render *Lewis* the XIII. more flexible, though *Nanci* was beſieg'd. But all that he could obtain after many Civilities, was, That in caſe he were himſelf Duke of *Lorrain*, it would be no difficult matter to grant his Requeſt, being indeed really perſuaded, that he might depend upon his Word. *Charles* the IV. was in a ſtrange Confuſion upon this Anſwer, inſomuch that a Thouſand Thoughts came crowding into his Mind. But in the concluſion, having made ſome particular Reflection upon thoſe obliging Words which the King had ſpoken to his Brother the Cardinal, and believing that if he ſhould ſeem to comply to the making a

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Surrender of his Principality, the King would become more tractable; he reſolves therefore to take that Courſe. He perform'd his Submiſſion in all the Forms. The Cardinal receiv'd the Homages for his new Dignity. And the King himſelf gave him Joy of his Confirmation. But he would not forego his Pretenſions upon *Nanci*. And having drawn the Duke into his Camp by the Artifices of Cardinal *Richelieu*, this unfortunate Prince was forc'd to Surrender up that Place for four Years by a Treaty, that he might recover his Liberty.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* flatter'd himſelf, that after all theſe Conceſſions of his Brother the Duke, *Lewis* the XIII. would reſt himſelf there. But as the Deſign of *France* was to ſeize the Principality of that Prince, *Lewis* the XIII. always pretending ſome new occaſion of Diſcontent, ſent the Marſhal *de la Ferté* into *Lorrain* with conſiderable Forces, pretending that he had ſome Deſign upon *Germany*.

This News not only ſurpriz'd the Cardinal of *Lorrain*; but very much alarum'd him, as being apprehenſive of ſome Violence. He knew that *Lewis* the XIII. was extreamly incens'd againſt his Brother, for it was by the Benefit of a Paſs-port which that Prince had granted during the Siege of *Nanci*, that he had aſſiſted the Princeſs *Margaret* his Siſter to make her eſcape, in the midſt of thoſe Fears, wherein he was, that the French would carry her away by force: For the King did not approve the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother.

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In the height of theſe Apprehenſions he retires himſelf to *Luneville* with the two Princeſſes, the Princeſs *Nicolé* and the Princeſs *Claudia*, who remain'd with him; Duke *Charles* being withdrawn into *Burgundy*, after the reſigning of *Nanci*.

The Marſhal *de la Ferté* was not long ere he Beſieged them in their Retirement. And therefore the Cardinal having received Information, that the King had a deſign to force away thoſe two Princeſſes, and ſend them into *France*, he propos'd a Marriage to the Princeſs *Claudia*, between her and himſelf, to which the Princeſs gave conſent, not only upon the hopes of preſerving their Houſe, but becauſe that for a long time ſhe had always a great Fancy and Inclination for the Cardinal.

There was one Difficulty to ſurmount; for, that being Couſin-Germains, they could not Marry without a Diſpenſation, and there was an abſolute neceſſity that they ſhould Marry ſpeedily. For ſeeing the Duke of *Lorrain* had no Children by the Princeſs *Nicolé*, it was very much to be fear'd, that if the Princeſs *Claudia* his Siſter ſhould fall into the Kings Hands, before ſhe was Marry'd to the Cardinal her Couſin, he would Marry her to ſome Prince of the Blood in that Kingdom, which would ſoon furniſh *France* with a new pretence to ſeize upon all *Lorrain*, as undoubtedly it was the Deſign of *France*.

Seeing therefore no time was to be loſt, all the Eccleſiaſticks, and Learned Men among them which could be found out, were aſſembled together, and this Aſſembly being conven'd,

ven'd, and concluding that on Occaſions of that Nature, no other Rules could be followed than thoſe of Neceſſity, the Obſtacle was ſoon paſt over; the Marriage was concluded the ſame Day *, and afterwards allowed and approved of by the Pope.

*Nicholas Francis Marryed the Princeſs Claudia in the Year 1643.

Duke *Francis* the next Day ſent one of his Gentlemen to the Marſhal *de la Ferte*, to acquaint him with the News of his Marriage. To which the Marſhal, who was ſurpriz'd, and never expected that the Cardinal would quit his Purple to Marry a Wife, return'd Anſwer, That he believed the King would be diſpleaſed that he was Marryed without his being acquainted with it. And therefore flattering himſelf, that the Marriage could not be Conſummated, becauſe of the want of a Diſpenſation, and that ſome Nullity might be found in it, he forced the Duke and Princeſſes to go to *Nanci*, there to expect farther Orders from the King his Maſter, to whom he diſpatch'd an Expreſs immediately.

The Marſhal ordered that they ſhould be Treated with much Reſpect. Nevertheleſs, they were no ſooner arrived in the Dukes Palace, but their Chamber was ſurrounded with Guards. In this extremity, Duke *Francis* made it his Study to find out ſome Contrivance to get clear of his Keepers. And having ſoon bethought himſelf, he imparts his Deſign to the Princeſs his Wife, who readily condeſcending to Act her part, he ſo well ordered his Buſineſs, that his Deſign ſucceeded to his Wiſh.

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He choſe for this purpoſe the firſt day of *April*, on which day it is uſual in *Lorrain* to put little Deceits upon ſuch Perſons who are eaſily cheated. And ſuch Fools are called, *The Fiſh of April.* This practice was ſo well known to the French, that to avoid their being deceiv'd, they miſtruſted whatſoever could be ſaid to them upon that day. And this was the Reaſon that they would give no Credit to thoſe ſeveral Cautions given them very ſeaſonably, concerning the eſcape of the Prince and Princeſs, being really perſuaded that this was only given out to make them run after them; ſo that the fear which they had of being Deceiv'd, was the only occaſion they were trickt in good earneſt.

The following Night, the Dutcheſs, that ſhe might the better deceive the Guards, got out of the Palace in the Habit of a Page, carrying a Flambeau before one of the Duke her Husbands Gentlemen, whom ſhe was to meet in the Houſe of his firſt Gentleman of the Chamber; and where he was already come diſguiſed, under the contemptible Habit of a Porter, not ſparing his own Hair, which was very delicate and lovely, but having cut it off, that he might be the leſs known.

So ſoon as day approacht, and the Gates of the City were open'd, the Dutcheſs, who was now diſguized into a poor Country Woman carrying a Basket upon her Back, and conducted by the Duke, who was diſguized likewiſe, they went out by a Gate, called *Nôtre Dame*, and walk'd about half a League in this Equipage, with incredible trouble to the Princeſs

ceſs, who had never before walk'd ſo many weary Steps on Foot before. However after they had thus overcome the Ways, which were very uneven and rugged, they found a Gentleman who expected them with Horſes.

But indeed that which was very Singular, and might have caus'd the whole enterprize to Miſcarry, was, That when they were paſt the Gate, a Female Peaſant who came from the Field, and was going into the City, knew them though they were in that uncouth and ſtrange Diſguize. And this Woman, by a ruſtick Imprudence, and deſire of Pratling, which is ſo Natural to that Sex, could not forbear imparting it to a Soldier of the Guard, with whom ſhe was acquainted. This Soldier declares it to his Officer at the ſame time: But the Officer only Laught at it, believing that it was the Fiſh of *April*, which the Peaſant would have put upon him. Nevertheleſs he gave the Count of *Braſſac*, Governor of the City, an account of it ſome Hours after, but yet without giving any credit to the Relation. But the Count, as he was Naturally Suſpitious and Fearful, was more diligent, and therefore ſent away to the Officer who had the Guard of the Duke and Dutcheſs, to be inform'd of the Truth. The Officer had no ſooner receiv'd this Order, but he went and knockt at their Chamber Door, to know if they were up; but a *Valet de Chambre*, who was privy to the Secret, beckon'd with his Hand, thereby to ſignifie that he ſhould not make a Noiſe, for that they were as yet a Sleep.

This Officer had always treated them with great Reſpect, and all the Civility imaginable; and

and therefore being afraid to wake them, would not order the Door to be open'd. But the Count of *Braſſac* upon his arrival, compell'd the *Valet de Chambre* to do it. And then he went himſelf and drew the Curtains of the Bed; where finding the Birds flown, he diſcharg'd his fury upon the Maſter of the Houſe where they had withdrawn themſelves the Evening before, and upon the Dukes Domeſticks, which were found there, whom he ſent to Priſon, threatning withal to put them to the Torture if they would not diſcover the place of their Maſters Concealment.

But though they were very ſeverely handled, yet there was no way to make the leaſt diſcovery; for the Duke had not only conceal'd it from his Domeſtick Servants, but from the Gentleman of the Houſe, of whoſe ſervice he made uſe, what way he deſign'd to take; not that he was diſtruſtful of him, but that he might ſafely Swear that he knew nothing of the matter.

They purſu'd every way after them, but it prov'd ineffectual, becauſe of the extream diligence which had been us'd, notwithſtanding the delicacy and tenderneſs of the Dutcheſs; for a Man mounted behind on Horſeback held her always in his Arms for the greater Expedition, and to keep her from falling. At length they gain'd the County of *Burgundy*, and ariv'd the ſame day at a Gentlemans Caſtle, about Twenty Leagues diſtant from *Nanci*, from whence the Princeſs, who was quite tir'd out, was not in a Condition to depart till three

or

or four Days after. The Reaſon why they rather determin'd to go to *Burgundy* than elſewhere, was, That they were in hopes to find the Duke of *Lorrain* at *Beſancon*; but being inform'd that he was gone into *Germany*, they took the road for *Florence*, and came to the Dutcheſs their Aunt, Grand Mother to the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, then Reigning. There they remain'd almoſt Three Years: But the Air of that Country not agreeing with them, the Reaſon as they thought why they could have no Children there, they reſolv'd to quit *Italy*, and went to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, to the Empreſs *Leonora*, another of their Aunts.

This Marriage of Duke *Francis* was ſuch a blow that broke all the Meaſures of the King of *France*, who being reſolv'd whatever it coſt him, to make himſelf Maſter of *Lorrain*; would have been glad to have gotten the Princeſs *Claudia* into his Alliance, as I have already obſerv'd. Nevertheleſs he would not deſiſt from that deſign which he had been contriving for ſo long a time: And therefore, as he always made uſe of the old Pretence, That the Duke of *Lorrain* had broken the Articles of Treaty which he had concluded with him, ſoon after he return'd into the Principality of this Prince, and takes the City of St. *Michel*; and though that in the mean while an Army of Imperialiſts were oblig'd to poſt themſelves near *Mets*; theſe Troops of the Emperor, as much Confederates as they were, yet ſet their laſt helping Hand to the Ruin of *Lorrain*.

But

But that which ſeems particularly Remarkable is this, that during the time that this Country was the Theater of War, and that unheard of Hoſtilities were exerciſed in it, *Charles* the IV. ſeem'd not in the leaſt to be concern'd; but as if his Principality had enjoyed the moſt ſecure and *Halcyon* Tranquillity, he fell in Love with the Princeſs of *Cantecroix* *, whom at length he Eſpouſed. From this Match Deſcended *Charles Henry* Prince of *Vaudemont*, ſo well known by his firſt Campagnes, and by the Illuſtrious Rank which he holds at this day in the Army of the Allies; and a Princeſs called the Princeſs *Anne*, who was Married with the Prince of *Liſlebonne*.

* This was *Beatrix* of *Cuſance*, Widow of *Eugenius Leopold*, Prince of *Cantecroix*. He Married her at *Beſancon*, in the Church of the Fryers *Minime*, the Second of *April* 1637.

I could give an account of ſeveral remarkable Things concerning *Charles* the IV, which I ſhall paſs over in ſilence, as likewiſe the Hiſtory of his Marriage; for beſides that you may Read thoſe Paſſages elſewhere, they are not ſo material to my Subject. I ſhall only acquaint you, that after he had defeated in *Alſatia* Count *Otho*, one of the moſt dreaded Generals of the Suedes, and ſignaliz'd himſelf in *Germany* by many other Actions of Valour, he withdrew himſelf into *Flanders*; where the Spaniards, who had War with *France*, receiv'd him with much Joy, and conferr'd on him divers Imployments; during which time he alſo ſeized upon ſome ſmall places of *Lorrain*. But being caſt a third time into the Hands of the King of *France*, he Signed another Treaty, which was no leſs diſ-

advantageous than the former; and this was the occaſion of a new War, wherein likewiſe he ſaw himſelf ſtript of all his Principality.

The Air of *Vienna* was more wholſome to the Princeſs *Claudia* than that of *Florence*, and for an Accumulation of Happineſs and Joy, after various Troubles, and a long Exile, ſhe grew big with Child, and was brought to Bed in the year 1639. of Prince *Ferdinand Philip Francis*; who, after he had given infinite Proofs of his Bravery, while he was cutting for the Stone, died in the Operation, the firſt day of *April* 1658. And four Years after, the Third of the ſame Month of *April* 1643, was Born *Charles* the Fifth, who was called *Charles Leopold Nicholas Sixtus*. The ſame Year died *Lewis* the XIII, and Cardinal *Richelieu*, the greateſt Enemies at that time to *Charles* the Fourth. But neither did the Nativity of this Prince, (which ſeemed to be a happy Preſage for the Houſe of *Lorrain*, nor the Death of the King of *France*, and of his Miniſter, who then might be ſaid to Reign,) bring any conſiderable change to the Dukes Affairs, though he had conceiv'd at firſt great hopes to be reſtored to his Territories. He flatter'd himſelf that he might accommodate Things with the Queen, the Mother of *Lewis* the XIV, and there was ſome appearance for it. For this Princeſs ſimpathizing in his Misfortunes, by reaſon of that conformity which was between her deſtiny and his, had always teſtified a great Affection for him, notwithſtanding he was ſo much imbroil'd with the Court of *France*.

But

But things did not ſucceed in ſuch a manner as the Duke expected. For Cardinal *Mazarine* who ſucceeded in that Miniſtry, and who trod in the Footſteps of his Predeceſſor, had inſpired this Princeſs with ſuch Intereſted Politicks, that from the very Moment of her aſſuming the Regency, ſhe was poſſeſſed with another Spirit; and indeed we may affirm, that ſhe was more ſevere to the Duke in particular, than *Lewis* the XIII. ever had been.

Charles the IV. therefore fruſtrated on that ſide of all thoſe hopes which he had conceiv'd, bent his Thoughts wholly to render himſelf formidable to *France*, and made no delay in the performance of it. He ſignaliz'd himſelf in ſo many Occaſions againſt the French, that conſidering how much his Courage was thereby exalted, there was great likelihood that one day he would attempt to re-enter into his Dominions by plain force; ſo that the Queen, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, us'd all means poſſible to bring him over to their Party. And this Deſire particularly encreaſed, when they ſaw *France* began to be torn in pieces by thoſe Civil Wars; which made ſo great a Noiſe during the Minority of *Lewis* XIV. They urg'd, That in regard it was upon the King that his Reſtoration to his Dominions depended, (ſince the King held them in his Hands,) he might expect from him more favourable Conditions than from the Spaniards, with whom he was then ingaged. They offered him an entire Reſtitution of all thoſe Places which had been taken from him, *Nancy* excepted; which nevertheleſs they obliged themſelves to re-

ſtore upon the general Peace, without demoliſhing the Fortifications. But whether the Duke thought himſelf ſtrong enough to regain his Country by force, or that he would be reveng'd of the Queen, or that he thought he could not place any great Aſſurance upon a Treaty made in the Minority of the King, or what other Reaſons he might have, which could never yet be div'd into, he rejected all theſe Conditions, though ſeemingly ſo very Advantagious to him.

He was always at *Bruſſels*, and as he was become very neceſſary to the Spaniards, by the Aſſiſtance of his Men, for which he was paid conſiderable Sums; he made uſe of theſe Sums, and of ſuch as he gain'd by the Contributions of his Country, to purchaſe many fair Lands in *Flanders*, which yielded a great Revenue. In the mean time, how rich ſoever he might be, Duke *Francis* was not ſo well at Eaſe. For *Charles* the Fourth looking upon the Prince of *Vaudemont* as the preſumptive Heir of *Lorrain*, and perceiving well enough that the Duke his Brother could not but oppoſe his Pretenſions, by reaſon of Prince *Charles* his Son; this thought had made ſuch an Impreſſion in his Spirit, that he left him for this Reaſon at *Vienna*, without affording him any great Aſſiſtance. But this was not the worſt which then befel Duke *Francis*, who could patiently enough ſupport the capriciouſneſs of his Fortune. For about that time he loſt the Dutcheſs *Claudia* his Wife *, a Princeſs generally lamented in the Court of the Emperor, by reaſon of thoſe many amiable Qualities wherewith ſhe was Adorn'd.

*She died in the year 1652.

Duke

Duke *Francis* had wraſtled above Fifteen Years with his evil Fortune, yet he looked upon this Blow as the moſt ſevere and heavy that he had ever felt; and he was ſo afflicted with it, all his Life, that he would never Marry, how profitable ſoever a ſecond Marriage might have proved for the Re-eſtabliſhment of his Affairs. He intruſted to the care of a Religious Houſe, a young Princeſs, born likewiſe in the ſame Wedlock, who afterwards was Abbeſs of *Remiremont*, but is ſince Dead. And for Prince *Ferdinand*, and Prince *Charles*, he put them into the Hands of Monſieur the Marquis of *Beauvau*, to take care of their Education; *Charles* the Fifth not being above Nine Years of Age when the Dutcheſs died.

But how great ſoever thoſe Services were which *Charles* the Fourth had performed for *Spain*, after his withdrawing himſelf into *Flanders*, that Crown never did any thing for him, though they were particularly engaged to joyn their Forces with his, for the reſtoring him to his Dukedom. Of this the Duke loudly enough complain'd; inſomuch that the Spaniards fearing leſt being repulſed by ſo many vain Promiſes which had been made by him, he would in the Concluſion ſeek out ſome other *Aſylum*, and more ſecure Protection than theirs, to procure Tranquillity for himſelf and his Subjects, reſolved to ſtop him. And the Count of *Fuenſaldagne*, Governor of *Flanders*, who was none of his Friends, had Order to put this Deſign in Execution, as ſoon as he could find a favourable opportunity for it. At the ſame time Archduke *Leopold*, aſſiſted by the

Lorrain Forces, gained *Rocroi* from the French, and this was in the year 1655. And now the Campagne being ended, and all the General Officers of the Spaniſh Army retired to *Bruſſels*, the Count of *Fuenſaldagne*, whom Jealouſie rather put upon Action than the Intereſt of his Maſter, was only intent upon executing that ſecret Order which was given him. And that he might not miſs his aim, after he had communicated his Deſign to the Archduke, who was obliged to give his Conſent, he quickly diſpers'd the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Soldiers into Winter-Quarters, ſo remote the one from the other, and divided one from another by Rivers, that it was impoſſible for them to aſſiſt their Prince, who little expected ſo ſad a Deſtiny, though he had been admoniſhed of it ſufficiently before-hand.

Things being thus diſpoſed, the Count, who now only waited for a favourable Opportunity, found out a way to draw the Duke to the Palace, under the ſpecious pretext of ſome important Affairs which had faln out, and wherein he had an Intereſt. But as he thought to enter into the Council-Chamber, he was ſtopt at the Door. The next Morning he was conducted by Water down the Canal of *Antwerp* into the Cittadel of that City, and from thence was brought into *Spain*, and confined in the Caſtle of *Toledo*, where he remained a Priſoner during the ſpace of five Years.

The Count of *Fuenſaldagne* had no ſooner brought his Deſigns about, but Archduke *Leopold* ſent the Count of *Sainte Amour* at *Vienna*, to acquaint Duke *Francis* with the Confinement

of

of the Duke his Brother. He alledged the Reaſons which obliged the King of *Spain* to ſecure the Perſon of that Prince; and at the ſame time he requeſted him to come, and put himſelf at the Head of the *Lorrain* Forces, aſſuring him that his Catholick Majeſty had no other Intention than that of his Re-eſtabliſhment; and that he would never Conſent to any Peace, but what ſhould prove for the advantage of his Family.

Duke *Francis*, not a little griev'd for the Misfortune of the Duke his Brother, and 'tis probable no leſs apprehenſive leſt the like Fate might befal him, upon the firſt Motion refus'd the Offer. But the Emperor and Empreſs *Eleonora* his Aunt having united their Prayers to the importunate Sollicitations of the Archduke, and laying before him the grand Advantages which he might reaſonably hope for from the King of *Spain*; this Prince, rather perſuaded by the Conſiderations of the Intereſt of his Family, than his own particular Concerns, reſolved to go to *Bruſſels*, and to carry Prince *Ferdinando* and Prince *Charles* along with him.

When Duke *Francis* departed, the Emperor was at *Ratisbonne*, whither he was gone to reſide for ſome time, till the King of *Hungaria* his Eldeſt Son were Crown'd King of the *Romans*. The Duke went to take leave of him; at what time *Ferdinand* the III, after he had given him all the Marks of a tender affection, and made him a Magnificent Entertainment, ordered him to be conducted by a Troop of his Guards to *Noremberg*, together with the Marquis of *Harau-*

court, who was ſent to meet him by the Archduke, to ſollicite his departure and to haſten his Journey. He paſſed through the Territories of the Electors of *Mayence*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, and the Duke of *Neuburg*, where he was received with all the Honour that could have been paid to the Emperor himſelf; and above all, at *Duſſeldorp*. The Spaniards defrayed all his Expences during his Journey; and the Archduke came to meet him within a League of *Bruſſels* with all the Burgeſſes, who had all rang'd themſelves in Arms; ſo that greater Joy was never ſeen.

Duke *Francis* was not long ere he put himſelf at the Head of the *Lorrainers*, who received him with Acclamations, not eaſie to be expreſs'd. At the ſame time the King of *France* had laid Siege before *Stenai* by Marſhal *de Fabert*. Upon which the Spaniards, who thought that all the Freneh Forces were employed at this Siege, reſolved to begirt *Arras*. Duke *Francis*, who foreſaw the difficulty of this Enterprize, and who likewiſe perceived that the Miniſters of *Spain* had only given their Conſent to pleaſe the Prince of *Condé*, who was in the Spaniſh Army, and who abſolutely deſired this Siege, made it ſufficiently appear that he did not believe they could carry the Place. But in regard he perceived that they abſolutely reſolved to lay Siege to *Arras*, he marched thither with his Army, and was deſirous that Prince *Ferdinand* ſhould there begin his firſt Campagne: For Prince *Charles*, being as yet extreamly young, was left at *Bruſſels* under the Tuition of Monſieur *Romecourt*.

What

What Duke *Francis* was afraid of came to paſs. The Spaniards were forc'd to raiſe the Siege of *Arras*; they were beaten by the French; and the Rout was ſo great, that all their Infantry, their Cannon and Baggage remained in the cuſtody of their Enemies; inſomuch that Duke *Francis*, and Prince *Ferdinand* being arrived at *Valenciennes*, they found themſelves deſtitute of all Things, not having ſo much as a Field Bed. However, the Archduke order'd that they ſhould be aſſiſted with incredible Civilities. But things began to change Countenance when they came to *Bruſſels*. They found the Chambers of the Archdukes Palace, where they lodg'd, all ſtrip'd of thoſe Moveables which were in it before; and they were inform'd that the great Maſter of the Houſhold had prohibited Prince *Charles* to take the Air in the Park in a Coach, though it were a liberty which was very rarely refus'd to Women of the meaneſt Quality in the City.

The Archduke, who was a good Prince, and who had an intire Affection for Duke *Francis*, was extreamly diſſatisfied in his Mind, to ſee him treated ſo ill. But he was forc'd to diſpenſe with, and allow theſe Hardſhips and Injuſtices, not daring to oppoſe the Count of *Fuenſaldagne* who was entirely Maſter in *Bruſſels*, and who not having met with that pliantneſs in the Duke which he expected, endeavour'd to humble him. Duke *Francis* nevertheleſs was in hopes that the Count would become more Tractable. But upon a Rumour which then run, that *Charles* the Fourth had ſent from his Priſon

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an Order to the *Lorrain* Officers, that they ſhould retire into *France*, where the Princeſs *Nicholé* was, and carry with them as many of their Men as they could, the Spaniards laid a deſign to ſtop the Duke. That which oblig'd the Spaniards to this Reſolution, was this, That ſome time before two Colonels had deſerted with their Regiments, and were gone over to the Service of the King of *France*, and this had allarm'd them. Yet for all that, this is moſt certain, that the Duke had no Deſign, or the leaſt Intention to caſt himſelf into the Hands of the French, who were his mortal Enemies, and who had invaded all *Lorrain*. But the Duke ſaw himſelf ſo ill treated by the Count of *Fuenſaldagne*, and perceiv'd ſo many little Artifices made uſe of to ſecure him, that he went into *France* with all the *Lorrainers* which were in the Service of the King of *Spain*; taking Prince *Ferdinand* with him. For Prince *Charles*, upon what grounds of Policy I know not, was left at *Bruſſels*. But being he was in good Hands, they order'd his eſcape when they ſaw it convenient; ſo that at length he was conducted by Water through the Canal of *Antwerp* into *Holland*, to ſecure him from the fury of the Spaniards, for the Revolt of the Duke his Father. And being come to *Paris*, where Prince *Ferdinand* was already, the Duke preſented theſe two young Princes to the King, withal acquainting him, that he put them both into his Hands, for a Pledge of his Fidelity to his Service; which was kindly accepted by his Majeſty, who promiſ'd likewiſe that he would protect them, and advance them to Imployments proportionable to their Birth.

Prince

Prince *Ferdinand* had already been in Four Campagnes, wherein he had highly Signaliz'd himſelf, but then Died after that manner, which we have already related. His Death had almoſt overwhelm'd Duke *Francis* with Grief, and ſome Months after he was in great hazard of looſing Prince *Charles*, by an Accident which had like to have proved as fatal as the Minute was Auſpicious, which uſhered ſuch a Prince into the World, whom he lov'd to the height of Paſſion and Tenderneſs; as one who gave in his younger years as great and pregnant Hopes, as any Prince of his Years. The Accident was this.

The young Prince managing a Horſe in the Academy, where he performed his Exerciſes; the Horſe, that had but one eye, yet very ſprightly, hit ſo ruggedly againſt one of the Pillars of the Manage, that the Prince, as nimble and active as he was, in a moment was thrown backward to the Ground; and though he fell only upon Sand, yet he received ſo terrible a blow upon the Head, that he lay without any Motion. Endeavours were uſed to bring him to himſelf; but all thoſe little Remedies which were apply'd, ſignify'd nothing; he was laid upon a Bed in the Academy; where he continued ſix whole Hours without giving any ſign of life, though there appeared neither Wound, nor Contuſion in his Head, nor in any Part of his Body. The News of this Fall quickly allarmed all the Court. And the King who had an account of it, e're it was declared to Duke *Francis*, was ſo really afflicted at this accident, that he com-

commanded that without loſing time, his Phyſitians ſhould be ſent to him, and the moſt experienced Chirurgeons which could be found in the City, that he might not be blamed in any thing, if the Accident prov'd fatal. The King's Orders were immediately obeyed, but the Prince was in ſo ſad a Condition, that one of the principal Phyſitians, after he had well conſidered, and viewed him, declared aloud, as he was going out of the Chamber, That he would Die; which made others too ſadly believe there was no hopes, and that whatever could be done, would be to no purpoſe. However, recourſe was had to all ſorts of Remedies, and thoſe which were applied were ſo prevalent, that ſix Hours after, he began to breath. From that time forwards, every moment there appeared new ſigns of life in him; and at length he recovered his Speech. And by little and little he regain'd ſo much Strength, that his Cure was no longer doubted of.

We need not queſtion but Duke *Francis* was extremely alarum'd and afflicted at this ſad Accident. For though he were accuſtomed to theſe kind of tryals, yet this miſchance quite ſunk him, though Father *Poirot* a Jeſuit, his Confeſſor, who brought him the News, uſed all the Precautions imaginable; however, he ſurrender'd up himſelf with a profound Humility to receive this laſt Affliction, which his ill Fortune ſeem'd to have prepar'd for him; and letting fall ſome Tears, he was heard to pronounce theſe Pious Words; *God gave, and God has taken away, his Will be done.*

But

But there was nothing mournful that afterwards accompanied this Accident. There were no Symptoms ſucceeded which the Phyſitians were afraid of, and which might not reaſonably be expected in ſuch Miſchances. The young Prince himſelf felt nothing of Inconvenience ſome days after. On the contrary, he found himſelf in ſuch a good diſpoſition of Body, that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to continue his Exerciſes. However, in regard that in Accidents of this Nature, extraordinary care is to be obſerv'd, Duke *Francis*, by the Advice of the moſt learned Phyſitians, forced him to keep his Chamber for above three Months; during which time he was viſited daily by all of both Sexes, which were of the greateſt Rank and Quality in the Court. Yet this was obſerved that the King never went to ſee him, notwithſtanding he appeared ſo very much concern'd at this Accident, when the ſad Tidings were firſt brought him.

The Pyranean Peace was concluded the following Year. Cardinal *Mazarin*, and Don *Louis Mendez de Haro*, one for the King of *France*, and the other for the King of *Spain*, being aſſembled in the Iſland of *Faiſans* *, concluded at length, after many Conferences, a War, which had been kindled for a long time between thoſe two Princes. In this Treaty of Peace, Don *Lewis* conſented to leave to the King of *France*, the Dukedom of *Bar*, the County of *Clermont*, and to permit him to demoliſh the

* This is an Iſland made by a River called *Badaſſon*, which comes out of the *Pyrenean* Hills, and empties it ſelf into the Sea near *Fontarabic*. This River ſeparates *France* from *Spain*.

the Fortifications of *Nanci*, provided that he would reſtore to *Charles* the Fourth the Dukedom of *Lorrain*. There were ſome other Articles alſo in this Treaty, which were not very advantagious for that Prince. So that the Duke, who was yet a Priſoner at *Toledo*, complained to the King of *Spain*, that his Concerns were diſpoſed of without his being made privy to it. But in regard his Catholick Majeſty held no Correſpondence with him, and that he lookt upon him as a Prince, of whom he had no reaſon to be afraid in any reſpect, thought it ſufficient to give him his Liberty, with a ſlight Intimation that he had ſerv'd his Intereſt, as far as he judged it neceſſary for the good of Chriſtendom: That what was done, could not be otherwiſe done, and that he muſt reſt himſelf contented with his Deſtiny. This Anſwer of the King of *Spain*, though brisk, and highly diſobliging, yet it was not the only hard meaſure in the Proceedings of that Monarch. He ordered theſe things to be told him by one of his Miniſters; and though the Duke took a Journey to *Madrid* to ſee him, he would not admit him into his Preſence; apprehending, without doubt, that the Duke would reproach him with his Injuſtice and Ingratitude, which had over-rul'd him to deprive a Prince of his Liberty, who had ſought his Protection, and who had totally loſt his Principality, for having been but too much united to the Intereſt of *Spain*. In ſomuch that the Duke perceiving that there was not the leaſt likelyhood of making his Com-

plaint to the Catholick King, he departs with all ſpeed for the Iſland of *Conference*, with a deſign to complain to Don *Lewis de Haro* of the Injury which he had received. But whatever Words he could uſe to aggravate this Injuſtice, he could receive no other Satisfaction from the Spaniſh Miniſter than a ſad Acknowledgment, that he could not poſſibly conclude the Peace for him in a more advantageous manner, than as it was done already. The Duke had recourſe in this extremity to Cardinal *Mazarine*, who drew up his Objections to the *Pyranean* Treaty. But in regard the Duke was ſtill in the Hands of Don *Lewis*, and that the Cardinal had his Reaſons why he would not ſerve him any farther in that Affair; he was obliged, though never ſo diſſatisfied, to conſent to the Treaty, and to ſign it, for fear he might run the risk of a worſe Fortune.

In the mean time, the Cardinal heaped Civilities upon him, and always treated him like a Prince. He flattered him with great hopes, and made him ſenſible, that the thing depended ſo abſolutely upon the King, wholly to eſtabliſh him in his Dominions, and reſtore his Houſe to its priſtine Luſter and Dignity, that he got his conſent to return into *France*; where being ſtript of his Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, yet he had the ſame Honours paid, which are uſually renderd to Princes who are Sovereigns in their own Country: But theſe were but outward Civilities, he was neer the leſs unfortunate for all theſe ſhews.

The

The Fruit of the *Pyrenean* Peace was the Marriage of *Lewis* XIV. with the Infanta of *Spain*. For in regard that great People never Marry but out of Policy, and that this Marriage was the Knot which was to unite that Peace which had been ſo much deſired, and which the People had ſo long wiſh'd for; the Queen did agree to it without any difficulty. But this we may ſay, That he Eſpouſed this Princeſs without having the leaſt Inclination for her. Not but that the Portraiture which had been given of the new Queen, might be capable enough to move him. But the King was in Love with Madamoiſelle *de Mancini*, Niece to Cardinal *Mazarin*; who, though ſhe was a Woman of great Wit, yet ſhe was no ways well made. So that it was the common ſaying of the Town concerning her, that you no ſooner heard her Diſcourſe but you forgot ſhe was Deformed, and Men could not avoid, but they muſt Love her; ſo that it was no wonder the King was ſo taken with her.

And as Madamoiſelle *de Mancini* anſwer'd the Kings Friendſhip, ſo the King Lov'd her in ſo tender a manner, that he had undoubtedly Married her, if Princes upon ſuch emergent Occaſions, might be Maſters of themſelves.

The whole Court began to diſcover plainly the great Paſſion which that King had for the Cardinals Niece; For he paid his Aſſiduities to her in the view of all the World. His Complaiſances extended ſo far, and he made her ſuch Magnificent Preſents, that the Queen Mother was alarum'd at it. For ſhe, being a Spaniard, ſince the Death of

Lewis

Lewis XIII. had labour'd nothing more, than to conclude a War, which could not but prove fatal to her, on which ſide ſoever the Advantages fell; and ſhe ſaw moreover, that all her Endeavours for the Peace would be utterly Ruin'd, if the King did not wholly forget Mademoiſelle *de Mancini*, and Marry the Infanta of *Spain*.

'Tis true, the Cardinal, as all Men might eaſily Judge, would never have been ſorry to have ſeen his Niece the Kings Companion in the Royal Throne. But whether it were that he was willing to yield a blind Obedience to the Queen; or that he fear'd leaſt the King, coming at length to diſlike his own Act and Deed, ſhould one day null the Marriage, he was the firſt that diſpoſſeſt Mademoiſelle *de Mancini* of thoſe vain Thoughts which ſhe had, that the King intended to Marry her, and he drove on the Buſineſs ſo vigorouſly, that a Match was concluded with the Infanta.

The King however had much ado to conſent to an Alliance that was to reſettle a Peaceful Calm between two Potent Monarchies. For he ſtill felt the ſame Inclinations for Mademoiſelle *de Mancini*, which he had for her, ever ſince the day that he firſt began to have a Paſſion for her. Of which he gave her ſuch ſenſible Marks, as left her no room to queſtion his Affection: And both the Queen and the Cardinal ſufficiently perceived it.

Nevertheleſs, in regard the Marriage was determin'd, and that there wanted nothing but the Performance of the Ceremonies, the Court prepared all things ready for their departure

toward the Frontiers, to receive the new Queen. The Cardinal alſo deſign'd to ſet forward firſt of all, and to carry his Niece along with him, to remove her out of the Kings ſight, fearing leaſt her preſence ſhould put a ſtop to his Journey, and obſtruct the grand Deſign of Eſtabliſhing Peace over all *Europe*.

On the other ſide the King could not without an extraordinary turbulency of his Thoughts, ſupport the violent Separation from him of a Perſon whom he preferr'd in his Affections before all the Princeſſes in the World. But in regard there was no Remedy, he retir'd to *Chantilli* for ſome days; from whence he did nothing but ſend Meſſenger upon Meſſenger to Mademoiſelle *de Mancini*, till ſhe was gone.

At length Mademoiſelle *de Mancini* departed the City, and the Cardinal her Uncle, who knew well the Force which he put upon her, endeavour'd, during the whole Journey, to perſwade her to make a Conqueſt of her ſelf, and extinguiſh a Paſſion that began to grow Criminal: He laid before her all thoſe Reaſons which ſhe had to induce her to vanquiſh her extravagant Ambition, and declar'd at length, that he had a deſign to Marry her to the Prince of *Lorrain*.

And indeed, when *Charles* the IV. was a Priſoner in *Spain*, he had himſelf made that Propoſal to Cardinal *Mazarin*, who having given his Conſent upon the firſt Motion, had engag'd to gain the Kings Conſent to Re-eſtabiſh him in his Territories. And he had certainly done it: For at that time the Cardinals Favour was vaſtly great. But in regard, that when the Duke

Duke was in *France*, he thought no more of the Match, which he made appear by his Carriage toward the Cardinal; for he never ſo much as ſpoke to him of it afterwards, though it were an Overture of his own making; the Cardinal was ſo incens'd at this Contempt of his, which appear'd to him ſo Fantaſtical, that far from inclining the King to make a Treaty with the Duke to his Advantage, he inſtill'd into him ſuch an Averſion for that Prince, that from that time forward they only amuſed him from time to time with fair Promiſes of what he deſir'd, without ever minding to give him Satisfaction.

On the other ſide, Duke *Francis*, whoſe Deſigns were altogether oppoſite to thoſe of Duke *Charles* his Brother, conſidering that there was no ſurer courſe for him to take, than to ſeek the Friendſhip and Support of Cardinal *Mazarin*, and that he could not incline that Miniſter to afford him his Protection by any way more Advantageous, than that of a Match between the Prince his Son, and Mademoiſelle *de Mancini*, reſolv'd to propoſe it; which he did effectually. True it is, That as he would have been glad to have aſcertain'd the Poſſeſſion of the Territories of *Lorrain* to Prince *Charles*, by a more ſecure way, ſo would he have been better pleas'd that *Charles* IV. would have Conſented to have Marry'd with the Princeſs. To which purpoſe he propos'd the Buſineſs to him, before he made a ſtep in order to the Cardinals Niece. But the Duke would by no means liſten to him; and then it was, that he Married that Princeſs to the Prince of *Liſlebonne*.

But Mademoiſelle *de Mancini* was not long

before ſhe return'd to *Paris*. At what time th Cardinal, who earneſtly deſir'd to Match her that he might wean the Kings ſo openly teſtifi Affection from her, gave order to Madam *de V nelle*, her Governeſs, to remove her immediatel from the Country of *Aunix*, where ſhe then Re d'd; and his orders were no leſs punctually obey'

Now in regard ſhe was in high Eſteem, n only for the Figure which Cardinal *Mazari* made in *France*, but for her own proper Meri and the Reputation ſhe had gain'd by bein Belov'd by the King, all the great Perſonage in *Paris* that had not followed the Cou which was then at *Tholouze*, made it one o their chiefeſt Concerns to link themſelves to he Friendſhip, and be her continual Viſitants. O this number the Prince of *Lorrain* was On and his Sedulity ſhew'd that he apply'd himſe to her in a more particular manner than th reſt. And this was by the advice of Madam *de Choiſi*, a Woman of deep Intreague. Thi Lady, cordial to the Intereſts of Duke *Franci* was perſwaded, That if Prince *Charles* coul gain the Affection of Mademoiſelle *de Mancini* the Cardinal could not do otherwiſe but Mar ry her according to his own Inclination; no was there any queſtion but that the King would approve the Match.

To this purpoſe, at the ſame time that th young Prince us'd all his Endeavours to gai her Affection, Madam *de Choiſi*, who had made it her own Buſineſs, ſet her Friends underhand, to inſtill into the Cardinals Niece, that beſides, that Prince *Charles* was to be conſider'd as a Prince who had a Claim to the Dutchies o

Lorrain

Lorrain and *Bar* more firmly Grounded than only to flatter his Ambition, there was no other way to free her ſelf from a kind of Slavery, wherein ſhe languiſh'd under the Queen Mother and the Cardinal her Uncle, with whom ſhe was forc'd to live in a kind of cloſe Confinement.

Mademoiſelle *de Mancini* knew all that very well, and beſides ſhe ſaw that Prince *Charles* was a goodly Perſon. She lookt upon his Courting her, as a thing that might be Advantageous to her; and delighted in his Company. But ſhe was as yet ſo little enclin'd to entertain a new Paſſion, that ſhe knew her ſelf to be inſenſible of all the Prince's Applications. The fall that threatned her was too ſteep to be ſo ſoon forgot. Nevertheleſs, as it was a difficult thing to make a long Reſiſtance againſt ſo brave a Prince as the Prince of *Lorrain*, Mademoiſelle *de Mancini* grew ſenſible at length, that ſhe Lov'd him a little more than ſhe had done. She was Charm'd with his Aſſiduities; and by Degrees ſhe began to accuſtom her ſelf to take no delight but in his Company. And in regard, that Madam *de Venelle* wou'd not permit the Prince to viſit his Miſtreſs in her own Houſe; there was not a day paſt, but he gave her a Meeting either in ſome Church, or in the *Tuilleries*. In ſhort, her Paſſion for the Prince became ſo vehement, that ſhe told the Cardinal her Uncle one Day, That ſhe would either Marry the Prince, or ſhut her ſelf up in a Nunnery.

Certain it is, That Cardinal *Mazarin* had conſented to the Marriage. For though it had

not been ſo advantageous for his Niece as
was, the Queen-Mother preſs'd him with
much importunity to marry out of the Kin
dom, that being out of his Eye, the Kin
might the ſooner forget her, that the Card
nal would never have made the leaſt Heſitatio
beſides, that he paſſionately deſir'd the Matc
But in regard the Cardinal was haughty, th
deſirous otherwiſe to appear very moderate i
things that regarded his own Intereſt, to mak
the World believe he only ſtudy'd the Intereſ
of the King his Maſter, yet he could have wiſh'
that the Duke would have ſincerely ſought h
Alliance for Prince *Charles*; but the Duke op
pos'd it. In a word, the Duke having peirc
into his Nephews deſign, and fearing leaſt th
Prince, by vertue of the Match in Agitatio
ſhould receive from the Cardinal thoſe Advan
tages which might turn to his Prejudice, h
utterly diſappointed all the Princes meaſure
and then it was that the Cardinal marry'd hi
Niece to Conſtable *Colonna*, who had demande
her in Wedlock ſometime before, by the Ad
dreſſes of Marquis *Angeleli*. Or rather it ma
be ſaid that he baniſh'd her into *Italy* againſ
his own will, and with a deſpair ſo violent
that he could not forbear reproaching the King
with the want of Courage he had ſhewn upo
her account.

Nevertheleſs, the Duke of *Lorrain* forbor
not giving many Teſtimonies to Prince *Charle*
of his Kind Intentions towards him; affirming
that if he had croſs'd him in his Marriage, it wa
only to procure him a more honourable Alli-
ance; and that his deſign indeed was, to Mar-
ry

ry him with *Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier*, the Eldeſt Daughter by the firſt Wedlock to the deceaſed Duke of *Orleance**.

* The D. of *Orleance* died at *Blois Feb* 2. 1660. In the Year 1626. he marry'd Mary of *Bourbon*, the only Daughter of *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Montpenſier*, Dauphin of *Auvergne*; and by her he had *Mademoiſelle*.

And fearing leaſt it would be ſaid, that all theſe Diſcourſes were only feign'd to amuſe the Prince, he caus'd the Propoſal to be made at the ſame time to the Princeſs; and to convince her that he was in good Earneſt, and that there was nothing in the world which he more paſſionately deſired, he cauſed a farther Propoſal to be made her, that if ſhe would conſent to Marry his Nephew, he would in favour of her, ſurrender up all his Territories to him, reſerving only a Penſion of a hundred Thouſand Crowns.

The Cardinal to whom the Addreſs was made, as much incenſed as he was againſt the Duke of *Lorrain*, declared at the ſame inſtant that he was well pleaſed with the Propoſal, and that he would omit nothing that lay in his Power that might induce Mademoiſelle to accept it.

In ſhort, whither the Cardinal feign'd his Approbation of the buſineſs, or whither he believed the Match to be for the Princeſſes advantage, or that he intended to ſound the Duke's Integrity, he wrought with the King to depute Monſieur *de Lionne* to treat about the Affair with Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*'s Counſell. But the Duke, always Irreſolute, far from

coming to any Concluſion, ſtarted ſo many difficulties, that the Cardinal * died, before any thing could be fully reſolved upon.

* The Cardinal died at *Vincennes*, *Mar.* 9. 1661. in the 59 year of his Age.

However, in regard that Monſieur *de Guiſe* ſollicited the Cardinal to incline the King to ſome Accommodation with the Duke of *Lorrain*, he that had been a long time ſick, and deſpair'd of Recovery, thought it now high time, upon the brink of Death, to make his peace with God, and that he had ſufficiently revenged himſelf of the Duke, by drilling him on ſo long and only feeding him with Promiſes. So that about three or four days before his Death the Duke concluded and ſign'd a particular Treaty with the King, of which the ſubſtance was, 1. That he ſhould be reſtored to the Dutchies's of *Lorrain* and *Barr*. Wherein nevertheleſs the King ſhould ſtill keep poſſeſſion of the Grand Road or * Paſſage, extending from the Entrances into his Dutchies next to *Stenai*, quite through his Countries into *Germany*, which ſhould remain in Sovereignty to the King. 2. That the Fortifications of *Nanci* ſhould be demoliſhed. 3. That the Towns of *Stenai*, *Clermont*, *Jamets* and *Dun* ſhould continue in Propriety to *France*. 4. That the Duke ſhould diſarm all his Soldiers and Militia, except his Regiment of Guards and Light Horſe, and ſome Companies of Foot for the Preſervation of ſuch Gariſons as remain'd in his hands. 5. That the Duke ſhould not repair the Fortifications of *Nanci*, nor make any New Fortifications about any other Town within his Territories, without leave of the King, nor give any Protection to any of the King's Subjects, contrary to his Majeſties pleaſure. Theſe

* This Paſſage is a Road not above half a League broad, but little leſs than Thirty Leagues in length.

Theſe were the principal Conditions, to the Severity of which the Duke was oblig'd to conſent, that he might regain his Principality of *Bar*; his Friends having generally advis'd him to accept them, for fear, leſt under the ſway of ſome other Miniſter of State, he might meet with far greater Obſtructions.

No ſooner had the Duke ſign'd the Treaty, but he departed into his own Dominions; and to the end Prince *Charles* might have no reaſon to complain of him, upon the Marriage propounded with *Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier*, he declared to him, that he always earneſtly deſired it, and to remove all ſuſpitions, he ſent at the ſame time a full Power in writing under his Hand and Seal to the Duke of *Guiſe* to conclude the Articles, upon the ſame Conditions which he himſelf had propoſed.

The Princeſs was overjoy'd at this Marriage: ſhe found in Prince *Charles* all the Noble Qualities ſhe could deſire; and beſides, the Condeſcention of the Duke his Uncle ſeem'd to be no ſmall advantage to her. On the other ſide, conſidering the Condition of the Houſe of *Lorrain* at that time, it was the greateſt good Fortune that could befall it, in order to a Re-eſtabliſhment; for beſides the Greatneſs of the Alliance, *Mademoiſelle* had a plentiful Eſtate. And therefore as all people deſired the Match, ſo all endeavoured to bring it to a Concluſion. Prince *Charles* every day paid his Viſits to *Mademoiſelle*. On the other ſide the Princeſs took delight in his Aſſiduities. All the Court took it for granted that every thing was agreed upon; but when all things were ready for Conſummation, Prince *Charles* fell in Love with

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Mademoiſelle d' Orleance, a Princeſs Young and of ſurpaſſing Beauty: to which may be added, that having been bred together, their Affections had taken root along time before. And indeed, to ſpeak the Truth, *Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier* was a little too far advanced in years to inflame ſo Youthful a Prince. And as certain it was, that *Mademoiſelle d'Orleance* was deſign'd the Prince of *Tuſcany*; the King himſelf being for engaged to make the Match, and it being alſo his Intereſt to ſee it concluded. Of all which Prince *Charles* could not be ignorant: But being of an Age not apt to make reflexions, he gave himſelf blindly over to a domineering Paſſion, not conſidering that he forgat his own Intereſts to run after a *Chimera*; ſince it was a Conqueſt impoſſible for him to make: and this was that which cauſed him ſo much to ſlight Madam *de Montpenſier*, that the World took notice of it.

All that were concerned for the Intereſt of the Young Prince were alarm'd at his manner of proceeding. They ſaid, that he poſted viſibly to his own Detriment and the ruine of his Affairs. It was laid before him, that he acted to his Uncles wiſh, whoſe deſign it was to croſs his Marriage, ſo he might not be ſeen to be in the fault; to the end that by that means he might ſecure the Succeſſion of his Territories to his Son the Prince of *Vaudemont*. They gave him to underſtand that he laboured inconſiderately, to looſe himſelf not only in the Kings good will, who had a high eſteem for him, but alſo in the Affection of all the *Lorrainers*, who looking upon him as their Deliverer, would caſt of all that Love and Endearment which they had ſhewed him upon ſe-

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veral Occaſions, when they ſhould come to be informed, that for a paſſion impoſſible to ſucceed, he had renounced the Re-eſtabliſhment of his Houſe, and the repoſe of a Languiſhing People, that had their Eyes fix'd only upon him. They told him at length, that being preſumptive Heir of *Lorrain*, he ow'd himſelf entirely to his Subjects; that he ought to think of no other Alliance but ſuch a one as might be for their Conſolation, and to redeem them from their Miſeries; and that, in ſhort, he was to put a force upon his Inclinations. But in regard that Mademoiſelle *d' Orleance* was the only Object that poſſeſſed his Soul, he would not liſten to any thing that could be ſaid concerning Her; or if he did hearken ſometimes, 'twas only to anſwer, that he did not think he was oblig'd to ſacrifice himſelf to the publick; and that a Prince was in an ill Condition, that was bound to be miſerable all his Life, to procure the uncertain Welfare of his Subjects.

Now that which confirm'd him in his Obſtinate Reſolution to Court that Princeſs, was this, that he met with ſome Perſons, who deſigning to make miſchief between the King, *Madamoiſelle de Montpenſier*, and himſelf, fed him with vain hopes, that he might find a thouſand ways to compaſs his Deſires. 'Twas true, they told him, that the King had given his Word to the Duke of *Tuſcany*, for the Prince, his Son; but they flatter'd him at the ſame time, that if he perſiſted in his Purſuit, the King would fall off at laſt from his Promiſe; that he was not ſo fond of the Match as Men imagin'd; and that he knew well, that an Heir to the Dutchies of

of *Lorrain* and *Bar* was as good as the Prince of *Tuſcany*.

On the other ſide, the great Affection which *Madamoiſelle d'Orleance* manifeſted for the Prince of *Lorrain*, and her Reluctancy to Marry the Prince of *Tuſcany*, contributed not a little to make him the more eager in his Deſign. He knew that the young Princeſs had open'd her Heart to the Dutcheſs of *Orleance* her Mother; that ſhe had not conceal'd the tender Kindneſs ſhe had for him; that ſhe had alſo diſcover'd to her the little Love ſhe had for the Prince of *Tuſcany*; and that it was the Dutcheſs's deſire that her Daughter might be left to her own Choice. But in regard the King took little care to ſatisfie the two Lovers, and that he only minded his own and the Intereſt of the Kingdom in this Affair, he preſt ſo hard the Concluſion of the Marriage, at the very time that the Dutcheſs of *Orleance* was about to have declar'd her Mind to him, that he ſent Monſieur *de Tellier* to her, to let her know that he had already Signed the Contract, and that there was a neceſſity for *Madamoiſelle* within three or four days at moſt to take her Leave of the Court, and ſet forward for *Tuſcany*; and that ſhe muſt either reſolve to obey, or prepare her ſelf for a Nunnery: nor was there any Reply to be given to this. So that the Marriage with the Prince of *Tuſcany* was concluded, as the King had contriv'd it, and *Madamoiſelle d'Orleance* was ſent away like *Madamoiſelle de Mancini*, to end her days in *Italy*.

Prince *Charles*, thus diſappointed of his Hopes on that ſide, there was nothing left for him to do,

do, but to put a Conſtraint upon his Inclinations, to forget *Madamoiſelle d'Orleance*, and to endeavour the regaining the Affections of *Madamoiſelle de Montpenſier*, which without difficulty he might have effected. But by I know not what ſtrange Blindneſs, that always accompanies vehement Paſſions, he was ſo far from taking that prudent Courſe, that he openly bewail'd his hard Fate, and privately withdrawing himſelf from his Father, ſome days after that the new Princeſs had begun her Journey, away he poſted to overtake her at *St. Fargeau*, whither *Madamoiſelle* had carry'd her, to take her laſt Farewell of her. And this was that which compleated the Ruine of his Affairs. For *Madamoiſelle* ſoon perceiv'd, that 'twas not for her's, but ſolely for her Siſters ſake, that the Prince had taken that ſmall Journey; and therefore could not forbear to make it known to all the World.

Now though Prince *Charles* had ſo little Inclination to Marry Madamoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, yet all the Court would not believe but that the Duke of *Lorrain* was the only cauſe of it, and that the Averſion which his Nephew had to that Alliance, was the Effect of his Contrivancces. Neither did Madam *de Cheureuſe*, (who conceal'd nothing from the Duke, as being wholly devoted to his Intereſts) diſſemble it one day to him, but told him, 'twas the general Report that was ſpread abroad. She alſo declar'd, that the Queen Mother ſeem'd to be convinc'd, that he underhand made it his Buſineſs to croſs the Concluſion of that Match; and that notwithſtanding all the Reaſons ſhe could alledge in his Juſti-

Juſtification, ſhe could not perſuade her to the contrary.

Now in regard it was the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Intereſt that the Queen Mother ſhould be diſpoſſeſt of thoſe thoughts, he revolv'd in his Mind a thouſand Contrivances which way to undeceive her. And at length having bethought himſelf of going with his Nephew to Viſit Madam *de Cheureuſe*, where he had alſo appointed to meet Madamoiſelle *de Guiſe*, they were no ſooner enter'd into Diſcourſe, but Madam *de Cheureuſe* cunningly engag'd the Prince in the Story of Madamoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, as it was laid before-hand.

And then it was that the Duke, who knew Prince *Charles*'s Averſion to that Princeſs, believ'd that his Nephew would make no ſcruple to open his Mind before thoſe Ladies, who being Witneſſes of what they heard themſelves, would be able to inform the Queen.

The Prince ſtood upon ſlippery Ground. For beſides that he had not foreſeen the Ambuſcado's that were laid for him, Madam *de Cheureuſe*, who was the Lady of the Court, that had the moſt Vivacity and Wit, chang'd the Diſcourſe with ſo much dexterity, made uſe of ſo many windings and turnings, utter'd things ſo pleaſing, and charg'd the young Prince ſo home on every ſide, that 'twas to be fear'd the ſubtle Lady would infallibly have compaſs'd her Ends. But the Duke perceiving the Snare, kept himſelf ſo well upon the Reſerve, and ſo neatly diſſembled his Reluctancy to Marry Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, though ſometimes his Countenance betray'd

tray'd his Expreſſions, that Madam *de Cheureuſe* was at a loſs. However ſhe made a freſh Onſet, and told him with a Thouſand pleaſing Inſinuations, that ſhe was perſwaded he did but diſguiſe his Thoughts, and that his Lips betray'd his Heart. But ſhe could draw nothing from him, but that he Paſſionately deſir'd the Match might be concluded, and that the Duke would always perſevere in his Deſires of procuring him ſo great an Advantage. Withal, he requeſted her to attone the Queen Mother in his Behalf, that his Deſign might not miſcarry, and at the ſame time to wait upon Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, and make her ſenſible of the Falſhood of what his Enemies had imprinted in her Mind, that his Affections were never real toward her.

And now Prince *Charles*, who ſaw full well from that time forward, that Madam *de Cheureuſes* deſign was to ruin him with the Queen Mother, by cauſing her to withdraw that Kindneſs which till then ſhe had for him, at length believ'd there was no other way to avoid falling into Diſgrace, but to apply himſelf in good Earneſt to Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*. Thereupon, he reſolv'd at the ſame inſtant to try his utmoſt; and he not only liſten'd to the Counſels of his Friends, by all the was imaginable to endeavour the appeaſing of a Princeſs, that took all occaſions to manifeſt her juſt reſentment of his paſt Behaviour, but he follow'd thoſe Counſels ſo punctually, and made ſo many fair Steps to the Mark he aim'd at, that Mademoiſelle ſome days after began to find in her ſelf, that ſhe was not ſo much incens'd as ſhe thought ſhe had been. And

And indeed, there was all the Probabilit in the World, as the Prince began to follow hi Buſineſs, that all things would have gone wel again. But the Duke, who had an eye upo all his Actions, was not long before he perceiv' his Intentions; and in regard that according t the Conditions which himſelf had propos'd t Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, the Match coul not but be altogether to the diſadvantage of hi Son the Prince of *Vaudemont*, he left no Ston unturn'd to break it. But in regard he wante a plauſible Pretence, and that Mademoiſell had endeavour'd to inform herſelf concernin the Revenues of the Territories of *Lorrain* an *Barr*, and of the Security which ſhe was t expect, in caſe the Duke ſhould make a Reſig nation in favour of the Prince; the Duk made as if he look'd upon this to be ſuch a Affront, that one day before a great Numbe of conſiderable Perſons in the Palace of *Orleance* he declar'd aloud, That ſince Mademoiſelle *d Montpenſier* was ſo ſcrupulous, he would kee his Territories, and never hear more of hi Nephew's Marriage with her as long as h liv'd. The Prince was then preſent, when th Duke brake forth into this Paſſion; and in re gard it would have been no great trouble t him, if there had been never any mor mention of the Marriage, provided there ap pear'd no Oppoſition in him, and that he might ſtill preſerve the Queen Mothers favour, he was no ſooner gone out of the Palace, bu he haſten'd immediately to Madam *de Choiſi*, to let her know in what a Chaſe he had left the Duke his Uncle.

Mademoi-

Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier* had ſuch an Averſion for Madam *de Choiſi*, that ſhe had often deſir'd the Prince never to viſit that Lady; and the Prince had Promis'd to gratifie her in that particular. And indeed, although at that time he were very indifferent whether he diſpleas'd or no, yet he was in ſome meaſure careful to make his Viſit private. But in regard that Mademoiſelle had her Spies continually upon him wherever he went, ſhe was inform'd of it the ſame day, and took it ſo hainouſly, that ſhe ſent the next day two or three times for the Marquis of *Beauvau* to acquaint him with her Reſentment, and complain of the Prince's breach of Promiſe.

The Marquis, in two or three Diſcourſes which he had the ſame day with Mademoiſelle, made uſe of all his Invention to excuſe the Prince. But the Princeſs, admitting no Atonement, continu'd her Complaints, broke out into Reproaches, and in the height of her Indignation, not Miſtreſs of her ſelf, could not forbear with ſome Tears in her Eyes, to call the Prince Ungrateful, and to tell the Marquis he was unworthy the Affection, which ſhe had been ſo weak as to ſhew him.

To this Monſieur *de Beauvau*, who plainly ſaw that as much incens'd as Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier* ſeem'd to be, yet that ſhe really lov'd the Prince, reply'd at the ſame time, That 'twas true, ſhe had given him a terrible Alarum, but that he perceiv'd in her Eyes thoſe Marks of an Inclination to Pardon the Prince of *Lorrain*, which convinced him, that upon the firſt Viſit the Prince ſhould pay her, ſhe would not

be offended if he endeavour'd to juſtifie himſelf; and that ſhe would forget a Crime, which as heinous as it ſeem'd to be, would vaniſh into nothing when it came to be examin'd. To which Mademoiſelle anſwer'd only with a ſmile, and the Marquis who deſir'd no more, took his leave well ſatisfy'd; and from thence went to wait upon the young Prince, with new Inſtructions, which he receiv'd like an apt Scholar.

In the mean while, the Duke of *Lorrain* underſtanding that Mademoiſelle had ſent two or three times for the Marquis of *Beauvau*, and not able to fathom the Reaſon of the Princeſs's being ſo earneſt, was deſirous to underſtand the Myſtery, which the Marquis as ſoon unfolded to him: And withal he aggravated things ſo effectually, that the Duke, though he had begun a Quarrel with Mademoiſelle, could not forbear blaming his Nephew, and to diſapprove his Conduct. He found that he had done very ill in viſiting Madam *de Choiſi*, ſince he knew there was nothing in which he could more diſoblige Mademoiſelle: adding that he could not underſtand how a Prince that had any wit to underſtand his own Intereſts ſhould ſo ſtrangely forget himſelf. And after he had himſelf reprov'd him, the next day he admoniſh'd him for the future to carry himſelf with more obſervance towards Mademoiſelle than he had done. He laid before him all the Advantages which that Match would procure to the Houſe of *Lorrain*: and for three or four days he was ſo eager to bring it to a Concluſion, that the Prince was really allarum'd at it. For indeed

indeed conſidering the Condition of that young Prince, he knew not what it was he deſir'd, or what not: Or rather, he always found in himſelf ſo great an Averſion to that Alliance, that he could have wiſh'd the Duke had never thought of procuring him that Advantage, after he had ſo ſtrongly oppos'd it. Nevertheleſs, at the ſame time that the Duke appear'd ſo eager to Match the Prince with Maidemoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, of a ſudden he chang'd his Mind, and propos'd to Marry him with Madam *de Nemours de Longueville*, who was look'd upon to be above Six Millions richer than the other; but neither Young nor Handſom, and nothing near ſo well deſcended as Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*; and beſides that, ſhe was reputed a Woman not well in her Wits; for that many People look'd upon her to be freakiſh in her Humours.

But in regard the Duke had conceiv'd great Advantages from this Match, by reaſon of her extraordinary Wealth, though indeed ſhe was not ſo rich a Fortune as Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, he caus'd one of his Gentlemen to treat firſt with a Female Friend of Madam *de Longueville*, to bring the Buſineſs about. The Gentleman acted according to his Commiſſion, and found a Compliance to his Wiſhes. But the Gentleman was no ſooner out of the Duke's Lodgings, but the Duke had alter'd his Mind, and ſo that Negotiation came to nothing: And Madam *Longueville*'s Friend was not a little troubl'd, imagining the Duke's deſign to be only to make himſelf Sport, and to fool the Lady & herſelf. And indeed no body knew where the Duke intended to fix his Eyes; and the greateſt part

of thoſe that were of this Mind, imagin'd that he had not any one particularly in view, but that he only deſign'd to lull his Nephew aſleep. Yet two days after he explain'd himſelf, and declar'd that the reaſon which oblig'd him to alter his Mind was, becauſe he had a Propoſal made him for Marrying the Prince with Mademoiſelle *de Nemours*, the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s youngeſt Daughter.

This Propoſal had been effectually made him, and he had at firſt rejected it; but preſently after his Gentleman was gone to treat with Madam *de Longueville*'s Friend, reflecting more ſeriouſly, he look'd upon it as a Match ſo Advantageous, that he could have no reaſon to demurr in conſenting to it; ſo much the rather becauſe he was in hopes of Marrying the Prince of *Vaudemont* to Mademoiſelle *d'Aumale* her Siſter. Beſides, that Mademoiſelle *de Nemours*, not being of that High Rank as Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, he ſhould not be bound to reſign his Territories in favour of his Nephew. On the other ſide, Madam *de Nemours*, Mother of the two Princeſſes, openly declar'd that ſhe deſir'd nothing more than ſuch a Double Alliance with the Houſe of *Lorrain*. And with this Deſign, ſhe often went to viſit Madam *de Choiſi*, who had a great Aſcendant over the Prince. More than that, the Queen Mother had approv'd the Propoſal. And there was great likelihood, that Mademoiſelle *de Nemours* would be no leſs acceptable to the Prince; for ſhe was Young, and ſurpaſſingly Beautiful.

Thus all things ſeem'd to concur with the Deſigns of thoſe that made the Propoſal; but

Duke

Duke *Francis*, and Madam the Dutcheſs of *Orleance* were Obſtacles in the way; who neither of them could reliſh the Propoſal of Marriage. The Duke was abſolutely deſirous that his Son ſhould keep cloſe to Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, hoping that if he perſiſted, he would not fail to regain the Favour of that Princeſs, and that the Duke his Brother would not recoil from his word, ſince he had engag'd it to the King. And in caſe the Match with Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier* did not ſucceed, the Dutcheſs of *Orleance* was then for Marrying the Prince to Mademoiſelle *d'Alanſon*, her Daughter.

During theſe Amorous Intrigues, the Nobility of *Lorrain*, ſent two Commiſſioners to the Duke to lay before him their right to certain Privileges which he denied them, believing that the Opportunity of the Matches propos'd for the Prince, would be favourable for their purpoſe. But the Duke would by no means hear them. And therefore judging that his preſence was neceſſary in *Lorrain*, where he was afraid of threatning Commotions, he departed from *Paris* ſome days after the *Lorrain* Commiſſioners arrived; and in regard he was in great haſte, he took his leave of no perſon living, not ſo much as of the King. However he left a Power in writing, under his Hand and Seal to conclude the Marriage of his Nephew with Mademoiſelle *de Nemours*, with this Reſtriction, that it ſhould not be a Match but upon Condition that Madam *de Nemours*, her Mother, would juſtify her to be worth two Millions, as ſhe had offer'd to do.

The Commiſſioners from *Lorrain*, of which one was the Count of *Mauleon*, made very conſiderable

ſiderable offers alſo to Prince *Charles* of their Service, which he refuſed to accept. On the other ſide, his Friends having plainly made it appear to him, that the only courſe he had to take, was to reconcile himſelf with Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, he reſolved to follow their Advice. And manifeſtly ſeeing it was one of the greateſt Advantages he could pretend to at that time, he labour'd thenceforward to regain her favour by all the ways of Obſervance and Submiſſion imaginable.

Sometime after, the Count of *Furſtenbergh* (now Cardinal *Furſtenbergh*) was made privy to theſe Intrigues of the Prince of *Lorrain*; and in regard he was in good Eſteem with Mademoiſelle, the Prince deſir'd him, after he had diſcover'd his mind to him, to make uſe of his Intereſt, to pacify her juſt Indignation, and to ſpare no means that might conduce thereto, there being nothing which he more deſired then to be Marry'd to her.

The Count of *Furſtenbergh*, as one that was glad to ſerve the Prince, undertook the Affair; and the next day, he gave a viſit to Mademoiſelle; and then it was that he ſet forth after ſuch an inſinuating manner the Prince's extreme ſorrow, for having made ſo bad a uſe of his Good Fortune, and the Reſolution he had taken to ſurrender himſelf wholly to her, that he ſoon diſcovered in the Countenance of the Princeſs, that ſhe was no way diſpleaſed at his Mediation.

However, ſhe could not diſſemble to the Count the ſeveral occaſions of diſſatisfaction which the Prince of *Lorrain* had given her. She

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ripp't up the whole Hiſtory of what had paſſed between 'em; and after ſhe had ſpoken for ſometime with heat enough, ſhe added, in a ſofter tone, that ſhe would endeavour to forget all the Injuries which the Prince had done her, and to give him a real token, that ſhe had nothing of Anger againſt him, ſhe would not complain to him of an Outrage, that had wounded her to the Soul, and which another Lady would have reſented, perhaps as long as ſhe had liv'd, how ſubmiſſive ſoever the future Obſervance of the Prince might have been.

Now in regard that here ſhe made a ſtop, the Count deſired her to proceed, and tell him what it was. The Princeſs begg'd his Excuſe at firſt; but after a long Importunity, ſhe told him at length, That the Prince of *Lorrain*, having by the means of one of her Gentlewomen obtain'd her Picture, which was extremely like her, when ſhe was but * Sixteen years of Age, he made a Sacrifice of it to the Princeſs of *Tuſcanny*; and that after all the moſt Injurious Jeſts and Flouts that both could utter upon the Difference of what ſhe was then, and at the time when he courted her, they threw it into the Fire.

* *At which Age ſhe was one of the greateſt Beauties in the Court.*

The Count of *Furſtenburgh* made as if he could not believe the Story: telling her with all, that the Prince of *Lorrain* was too prudent a Perſon, ſo much to forget himſelf as to commit ſuch a rudeneſs as that, and therefore that it was certainly ſome invention of his Enemies. In a word, that there was no Probability that Prince *Charles* could be capable of an Action of that Nature;

and that if ſhe pleaſed to permit him to ſatisfy himſelf of the Truth from the Prince's own Lips, he was convinced that the Prince would juſtify himſelf ſo well, that ſhe ſhould acknowledge the Mis-information. The Princeſs, fearing without queſtion, that the Prince of *Lorrain* was not ſo Innocent as the Count would perſuade her, at firſt refuſed her leave; but the Count of *Furſtenbergh* preſt her with ſo much Importunity, that at length ſhe condeſcended, and gave him Permiſſion according to his deſire.

So ſoon as the Count had taken his leave of Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, he found out the Marquis *de Beauveau*, to whom he gave an Account of the Story of the Picture, which very much perplexed the Marquis; for he tenderly lov'd the Prince; and after they had argued for ſome time upon the Accident, they went both together to the Prince's Lodgings. Preſently the Count of *Furſtenbergh* in few words gave him to underſtand the favourable Inclinations which Mademoiſelle continued in his behalf, and then falling upon the Chapter of the Portraiture, he conjur'd the Prince to tell him whether the Story were certainly true or no, and whether the Picture were really thrown into the Fire, as Mademoiſelle had made her Complaint. The Prince pauſed a while at firſt, and ſeem'd to be at a kind of ſtand. Of which the Marquis and the Count, deſirous to take their Advantage, to the end they might the more eaſily make the intended Diſcovery, fifted him every way, without giving him leave to recover himſelf: but all they could get out of him, was, that the Picture had not that unhappy deſtiny

ſtiny which Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier* com-plain'd of; that intruth, he had it not in his poſſeſſion; for that he had left it with the Prin-ceſs of *Tuſcanny*; but that Mademoiſelle did him wrong to think he was capable to violate with ſo much contempt, and after ſo unworthy a manner, the Portraiture of ſo great a Princeſs as her ſelf; that it was a malicious Story which his Enemies had forg'd, to render him Odious to her; and that if they deſired any clearer Satis-faction, they needed no more but to addreſs themſelves to Mademoiſelle *de Firtoi*, who had been always the great Confident of Mademoi-ſelle *d'Orleance*, before ſhe was Marry'd to the Prince of *Tuſcany*.

The Mother of Mademoiſelle *de Firtoi* was a *Lorrainer*, and Wife of the firſt Squire to Ma-dam the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*. Now beſides that for theſe Reaſons, ſhe was highly for the Marriage of the Prince with Mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, and conſequently would be willing to juſtify him againſt any accuſation that re-dounded to her Detriment, the Marquis *de Beau-veau* was particularly acquainted with her, and therefore having taken it upon him, reſolved to viſit her the ſame day.

Madam *de Firtoi* was no ſooner informed of the matter by the Marquis, but ſhe ſent for her Daughter to underſtand the Truth of the Story. And indeed Mademoiſelle *de Firtoi* was at a ſtand at Firſt; but being preſt by her Mother, ſhe preſently told her, that ſhe needed not take care for the Picture; for that ſhe had it in her Cabinet. In ſhort, her Mother having com-manded her to give it the Marquis, to do with it,

it, as he ſhould think Convenient ſhe delivered it into his Hands.

The Marquis of *Bouveau* was extremely ſatisfy'd with his happy Succeſs, and immediately carried the Fatal Picture to the Count of *Furſtenbergh*, to the end that by ſhewing it to Mademoiſelle, he might convince her of the Falſehood and Calumny of the Story. He acquitted himſelf exactly of his Commiſſion; telling Mademoiſelle that the Prince of *Lorrain* had never parted with the Picture out of his poſſeſſion; that he had always kept it moſt charily, and that he always carried it about him. And tho' the Princeſs ſuſpected at firſt that there was ſome juggle in the caſe, and that it was but a Copy; it was ſo eaſy a thing to diſabuſe her in that particular, that the Count found it no hard matter to do it.

There was all the Reaſon to hope, after ſuch an Illuſtration as this, ſo happily manag'd, that Madamoiſelle *de Montpenſier* would have condeſcended to whatever the Prince of *Lorrain* could deſire: and indeed his Affairs were never in a better Condition: Madamoiſelle took delight in his Company; and it may be ſaid, that they look'd upon themſelves already as by Deſtiny Appointed the one for the other. But the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had taſted the ſweets of Soveraignty, and therefore would not ſtrip himſelf of his Territories, ſtarted ſo many Obſtructions every day, that Madamoiſelle tir'd out with ſo many various Irreſolutions and tedious Delays, would no more hear talk of the Marriage. And that which utterly ſpoil'd all, and made her to break off all Converſation with

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the Prince, was this, that the King at the ſame time rigorouſly Exacting the performance of the Treaty at *Vincennes*, conſtrain'd the Duke to demoliſh the Fortifications of *Nancy*, which could not chuſe but offend her, and make her diſguſt the Marriage. And thus was the Prince of *Lorrain* defeated of all his Hopes, for not vigorouſly driving on his own Affairs till it was too late: though in all likelihood this Match would never have come to any thing; for that they who underſtood Affairs, were of opinion, that the King himſelf oppos'd it under-hand.

The Queen Mother therefore ſeeing that all the Preventive Care that had been taken till that very time, had prov'd ineffectual, and that there was no way to bring the Buſineſs about again, thought ſhe could not do better then to concern her ſelf in the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Deſign of Marrying his Nephew with Madamoiſelle *de Nemours*. And indeed in regard the Queen Mother had a great Love for Madam *de Nemours* the Princeſs's Mother, ſhe laboured with an extraordinary ſedulity to bring about the Match. And to the end ſhe might omit nothing that could contribute to the ſucceſs of her Deſign, ſhe ſo vehemently importun'd the King then at *Fontainbleau*, to ſpeak to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and to write to Duke *Francis* then at *Paris*, that the King immediately diſpatch'd away one of the Priviledg'd Gentlemen of his Guards with a Letter to Duke *Francis*, wherein he let him know how well he was pleas'd with the Match, and therefore deſir'd him to come and Confer with him about it as ſoon as poſſible he could.

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But Duke *Francis* having a Reluctancy to this Match, pretended an Indiſpoſition of Body, that he might not be oblig'd to attend the King. For he always flatter'd himſelf that his Son might Marry Madamoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, and therefore his deſign was to gain time, and to take his own, to break the Queen's Meaſures, who earneſtly labour'd in behalf of Madamoiſelle *de Nemours*. But the King having written to him a ſecond Letter, more poſitive than the former, he was conſtrain'd to repair to *Fontainbleau*.

Now though Duke *Francis* did not abſolutely ſay that he was againſt the Match, nevertheleſs he made it appear, that he had no great Inclination to it. And the King who was not ignorant of his Reluctancy, yet unwilling to make uſe of Compulſion, thought it ſufficient to let him underſtand by a great number of Reaſons, that he oppos'd the Happineſs of the Prince his Son, ſince there was no more to be expected from Madam *de Montpenſier*. And to render his Reaſons the more effectual, he promis'd him, that if he would condeſcend to the Match, ſo firmly to engage the Duke his Brother to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of his Territories to the Prince his Son, that he might depend upon it. His deſign being, to take all manner of Security; to have it paſs by an Authentick Declaration in the Contract of Marriage, and in a manner ſo binding, that the Duke ſhould never be able to revoke it, in regard that he himſelf would be the Guarantee.

Theſe laſt Words of the King began to make Duke *Francis* totter, but that which abſolutely made him give his Conſent to the Match, was

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a Letter to the Duke of *Guiſe*, wherein the Duke of *Lorrain* had written to him, that if the Duke his Brother did not reſolve to Marry his Son to the Princeſs of *Nemours*, and that before the King ſet forward for *Bretagne*, which would be within a few days, he would revoke the Power given to him to Sign the Contract of Marriage in his Name. So that every thing being ready prepar'd, Monſieur *Lionne*, together with the Meſſieurs *de Guiſe*, and Archbiſhop of *Laon*, (afterwards Cardinal *d'Eſtrees*) went to the Lodgings of Duke *Francis*, there to paſs the Contract of Marriage as it was concluded at *Fontainbleau*, under the Conditions agreed on both ſides. So that the Contract was Sign'd by Monſieur *Lionne*, in the Name of the King; by Monſieur *de Guiſe*, in the Name of the Duke of *Lorrain*; and by the Biſhop of *Laon*, in the Name of Madam *de Nemours*, for Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* her Daughter.

In the mean time the Queen Mother earneſtly wiſhing to ſee the Marriage concluded, which was only in dead colours as yet, and fearing leſt the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould change his mind, obtain'd of the King immediately to diſpatch away a Courier, to give him notice to ſend his Ratification in due form, or elſe to deſire him, to take himſelf a Journey to *Paris*, to put his laſt helping hand to the Affair. The Duke of *Guiſe* alſo ſent a Gentleman to give him a particular Account of what had paſt. But though the Duke of *Lorrain* had himſelf moſt earneſtly deſir'd this Fortune for the Prince, his Nephew, and that he had made the firſt Propoſal, yet was he ſo vexatiouſly mad,

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that the Buſineſs was ſo far driven forward, that he ſent a Gentleman to the Duke of *Guiſe*, to let him know, that he had made too much haſte, and that he was extreamly ſurpriz'd that he had no ſooner notice of it, to the end he might have given him new Inſtructions. However this did not hinder him from Writing to the King that he would be in *Paris* within a few days, as indeed he was; but it was only with a deſign to croſs the Marriage, and to break it quite off, if it were poſſible.

But though he did not openly declare his mind, the King, who eaſily gueſs'd his Intentions, not only by others, but alſo in Perſon frequently propos'd to him, that he would give him all the Aſſurances he could reaſonably deſire, and that he would manage things ſo well, that all ſhould be for the Advantage of his Family. But in regard, that that was not the thing which he deſir'd, he ſtarted ſtill ſo many new Difficulties, that the Prince of *Lorrain* began to deſpair.

For he, by often viſiting Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* was become paſſionately inamour'd of her, and from that time forward there was nothing which he more deſir'd then the Enjoyment of that Princeſs. And therefore perceiving that the Buſineſs, as far advanced as it was, in ſtead of being brought to a ſpeedy Concluſion, was ſpun out with inſupportable Delays; and fearing alſo, leſt in the end he ſhould be diſappointed of this Match, as he had been of all the reſt, he was quite out of heart; more eſpecially finding that all his Submiſſions to the Duke prov'd ineffectual. One Obſtacle was no ſooner remov'd, but another ſprung up

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in the place, ſo that the Prince deſpairing of ever being happy with Madamoiſelle *de Nemours*, ſo long as the Buſineſs depended upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, he went to the King, by the Advice of the Queen Mother, and beſought him with ſo much importunity to oblige the Duke to come to a Concluſion, and to remove the Obſtacles which he ſtarted every moment, that the King immediately promis'd to make it his buſineſs, and to follow it ſo cloſe, that he ſhould have no cauſe to complain of his neglect.

In ſhort, the King, who had himſelf made the Match, by the Conſent of the Duke of *Lorrain*, was ſo incens'd at his Shifts and Evaſions, that the Prince was no ſooner gone, but he reſolv'd to make uſe of all his Authority, and ſlight all the Reaſons which the Duke alledg'd to ſpin out the Buſineſs. Nevertheleſs, conſidering preſently after, that it was better to proceed in a fair way, if it were poſſible, he endeavour'd by all the Arguments imaginable, to perſwade the Duke that it was his beſt Courſe to come to a Concluſion. To which purpoſe he order'd Monſieur *Lion* to manage him; who had ſeveral Conferences with him to that end. But thoſe Conferences proving fruitleſs, he ſent the Marſhal *d'Eſtrees*, Mademoiſelle's Uncle, to him; who had no better ſucceſs than Monſieur *de Lion*. So that the King, at length tir'd out with his delays, ſent him Word, That it was his Deſire that the Marriage of his Nephew ſhould be concluded within three Days at fartheſt; and therefore, if he would not give his voluntary Conſent, he would interpoſe his own Royal Authority, without conſulting him any more. This Reſolution inflam'd the Duke;

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and though he durſt not complain of the King, yet he made loud complaints of his Nephew. He told the Marſhal *d'Eſtrees*, That the Prince did very ill to make his Applications to the King, to procure him to threaten force upon his Inclinations: That he wiſh'd with all his Heart, he were Marry'd to the Princeſs of *Nemours*, but he had very ſtrong Reaſons not to be too haſty in the Affair, and that he might one day repent of putting him upon Extremities. To this the Marſhal Anſwer'd, That the Prince was no ways concern'd in the Matter, and that he accus'd him unjuſtly: To which the Duke made no other Reply, but that his Nephew went the way to looſe all; that he ſhould have let him had a Breathing time for ſome Days, and not have driven on with ſuch a violent Career. So that the Marſhal perceiving, that ſuch a force upon his obſtinate Will, would put him upon ſome deſperate deſign, endeavour'd to pacifie him as much as he could, and took his leave, with a promiſe, That he would endeavour to perſwade the King to retract what he had ſaid; adding withal, to juſtifie the Prince, That the King had taken that Reſolution of his own accord; and that indeed, he might ſee himſelf, that after he had only amus'd his Majeſty with Words, when he had poſitively promis'd that he would ſincerely labour the Concluſion of the Match, it was no wonder his Majeſty ſhould grow a little Impatient. So that the Marſhal having importun'd the King to ſtay Seven or Eight Days more without preſſing the Duke, he condeſcended to his Requeſt. And this delay it was, to which the King however did not condeſcend without

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an extraordinary Reluctancy, that quite broke off the Match, and reduc'd the Houſe of *Lorrain* to that ſad Condition, wherein it is at this day. For the Duke, from that time forward, minding nothing elſe but to revenge the ſuppoſed Injury which he had receiv'd from his Nephew, took a Reſolution ſo ſtrange, as never could have been expected from him, and which Poſterity will hardly believe, conſidering the bad uſage he had receiv'd from *France*.

But that which exaſperated the Duke, was the Haughtineſs of *Lewis* XIV. who making uſe of his Power, had been a little too quick with him, as already has been ſaid, in declaring ſo poſitively to him, that he would interpoſe his Authority, in caſe he perſiſted obſtinately to oppoſe the Marriage, or ſtarted any new Difficulties to delay it. But this was to drive him on furiouſly; to accuſtom him by degrees to be conformable to the Kings Will; and to enure him betimes to obey ſuch Laws as the King ſhould afterwards think fit to impoſe upon him: So that the thing being rightly conſider'd, was of dreadful Conſequence. But although the King had not carried things ſo high as he did, in reſpect to a Soveraign Prince, who had no dependance upon him, certain it is, that the King of *France* was the greateſt Enemy he had, and he knew it by woeful Experience. For beſides, the Towns which he detain'd from him, the Treaty which he had forc'd him to Sign at *Vincennes*, after he had drill'd him on whole years, as he did in that Negotiation, he had made it his whole Buſineſs ever ſince the Death of *Lewis* XIII. to invade

his Dukedoms; and that all the World knew. All theſe Reaſons with an infinite number of others not neceſſary for this place, were ſufficient to render the King hateful to him. Nevertheleſs he was ſo far from taking a courſe to throw off his Fetters, that his Reſentment againſt Prince *Charles*, and the Artifices of his Enemies that incens'd him to Revenge, render'd him ſo little the Maſter of himſelf, that never conſidering, that to make his Nephew miſerable, he run the hazard of making more Unfortunate his Son, the Prince of *Vaudemont*, ſo Worthy to ſucceed him, he laid a deſign to make the King of *France* his general Heir, and to Tranſlate the Succeſſion of his Territories to a Prince who had been the only occaſion of the greateſt part of his Misfortunes, and wore the very Crown which he complain'd that his Predeceſſors had uſurp'd from his Family. Which the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Madam *de Montpenſier* were within a little of proving under the Reign of *Henry* III. in the time of the League.

However it was a thing of too great Conſequence to be determin'd without ſerious Conſideration. So that he Studi'd for ſome days, before he would put his Deſign in Execution. And in regard, that all that while he was turmoil'd with a thouſand Thoughts, he was become ſo Diſtracted, that his Domeſtick Servants perceiv'd there was ſome ſtrange Combat in his Mind, which caus'd his Underſtanding to take thoſe Flights which were not uſual with him. Nor would it be an eaſie thing to expreſs his Condition at that time. You ſhould have him of a ſudden call for his Coach to go to the

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King and diſcover his Intention: By and by he would recollect himſelf, that this was ſo contrary to his real Intereſts, as afterwards he declar'd, that he would whiſper to himſelf, that he had rather his Nephew ſhould ſucceed him, than a Prince, who not content to have ſtript him of his Territories, us'd him no better than one of his Subjects, with his petty Menaces. He had once a deſign to retire into *Lorrain*, and let the King do what he pleas'd. But immediately changing his Mind, he reſolv'd at length to ſpend ſome time in the Country, there to walk away the diſquiet of his Thoughts, and bring his Determinations to an abſolute Concluſion.

To which purpoſe he made choice of the Village of *Montrevil*, which is not above a League from *Paris*.

Now in regard there were ſome that attended the Duke who were highly concern'd for Prince *Charles*, they gave him notice that the Duke was deſigning to go out of Town, and that they had ſome Suſpicion that he would be gone the next day.

When this News came to the Prince, it was ſo late at Night, that it was impoſſible for him to wait upon his Uncle. But the next day he roſe very early in the Morning to attend him, and let him underſtand that he was acquainted in part with his intention to withdraw himſelf privately out of *Paris* into *Lorrain*, and to beſeech him at the ſame time, with all manner of Submiſſion and Profound Reſpect, not to take a Reſolution ſo fatal as that would prove. But the Duke was already gone. The Prince was

at his Wits end. But being told that he was to lie that Night at *Vilmareuil*, a Houſe of Pleaſure belonging to the Prince of *Liſleboñe*, about Fourteen Leagues from *Paris*, he took Horſe as ſoon as poſſible with only three or four in his Company. Yet with all the Speed he could make he could get no farther then *Meaux*, which is above Four Leagues from the Houſe, and it was late in the Night before he got thither too.

But the Duke being gone no farther then *Montrevil*, there was no News of him at *Meaux*; beleiving therefore that he might have taken ſome other Road, the Prince ſent away a Meſſenger to *Vilmareuil*: Where finding that the Intelligence that was given him was altogether miſtaken, he return'd in all haſt to *Paris*.

The ſuddain departure of Prince *Charles* ſtrangely allarum'd Duke *Francis*, and the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*. For the Prince was no ſooner out of Town, but a Report was ſpread about, That he was only gone to overtake the Duke his Uncle to Duel him, not able to endure the Injuſtice which he did in refuſing his Conſent to his Marriage with the Princeſs of *Nemours*. But his return ſoon quieted their Minds again. However, they that were acquainted with Prince *Charles*'s Humour did him that Juſtice, and juſtifi'd him from being capable of ſuch an Ignominious Deſpair, which was ſo far from procuring him any change in his Affairs, that it would have utterly ruin'd 'em, and been an injury to himſelf never to have been repair'd. In ſhort, he was a Prince too Prudent to forget himſelf to that Degree: And beſides, he knew

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too well, by what ties he was bound to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to dip his Hands in his Blood, in caſe Fortune had favour'd him in a ſingle Combat; which however was a chance very dubious.

And therefore it may be readily conjectur'd, that they were none of the Princes Friends that ſpread about ſuch a Rumour. And as it could not be without a purpoſe to render him odious to his Uncle, ſo the News quickly flew to *Montrevil*.

But though the Duke gave little Credit to the Report, he could not forbear flying out into ſharp Language againſt his Nephew. He was already too much incens'd, not to ſhew ſome ſymptoms of his Anger. For Princes are like other Men; they are ſubject to the ſame Infirmities; they are alſo many times more apt to entertain violent Paſſions, than their Inferiours: And there are few, how generous they may be otherwiſe, that do not find ſome Sweetneſs in Revenge. So that the Duke himſelf could not refrain from ſaying openly, That he would be Reveng'd of the Raſhneſs of his Nephew; that ſince his good or bad Fortune depended ſolely upon him, he knew how to humble his Pride; and that let what would happen, he wore a Sword by his ſide as well as he, and would not ſtir an Inch for him.

But this was not the only Misfortune that befell the Prince of *Lorrain*? For at the ſame time that the Duke ſeem'd moſt exaſperated, Madam the Dutcheſs of *Orleance* receiv'd a Letter from an unknown Hand, and without any Subſcription, wherein ſhe had warning given her, that

three Friends of Prince *Charles*'s, among whom the Count of *Furſtembergh* was one, had a deſign to make away the Duke of *Lorrain*. That they had been a long time conſulting whither they ſhould Aſſaſſinate him, or ſeize upon his Perſon, and then ſhut him up in ſome Caſtle: But that at length, having conſider'd that which way ſoever they ſhould do the Buſineſs, it would be abſolutely impoſſible to preſerve the Reputation of the Prince; in regard, that all would come out in the end; they reſolv'd, that the Prince ſhould Fight his Uncle Hand to Hand, there being no other way to rid him of a Prince that perſecuted him ſo Cruelly.

This Letter could not be kept ſo private but that it came to the Duke of *Lorrain*. Nevertheleſs, although he had all the reaſon in the World to conclude it an Impoſture, as the Author of the Letter ſince Confeſs'd; and that he were otherwiſe Convinc'd, that if the Prince had any ſuch deſign, he could have had a thouſand ways to put it in Execution; he determin'd to make the King his Heir, as he had contriv'd it before: And three Days after he Sign'd a private * Treaty, of which the principal Articles were,

* *This Treaty was ſign'd in the Abby of* Mont-Marte, *in the preſence of the D. of* Guiſe, *and the Abbeſs his Siſter.* Feb. 6. 1662.

I. *That he made the King his Heir of the Dukedoms of* Lorrain *and* Bar.

II. *That for the ſecurity of his Faith and Word, he would immediately Surrender into his Hands the Town of* Marſal.

III. *That*

III. *That the King on his part, in Acknowledgment of this Donation, ſhould aſſociate to his Crown all the Princes of the Houſe of* Lorrain, *and that for the time to come they ſhould be look'd upon in* France *as Princes of the Blood; and that their Creation ſhould be allow'd in all his Courts of Parliament, and acknowledged by all the States of the Kingdoms of* France *and* Navarr; *ſo that thoſe Princes, according to their Elderſhip, ſhould be capable of ſucceeding, in Caſe the Line of* Bourbon *fail'd.*

Upon occaſion of which laſt Article it was, that the Duke, who ſometimes lov'd to break a Jeſt, one day joaking with the Prince of *Conde*, told him, That he never knew how to make above one Prince of the Blood in his Life, but that he with one daſh of his Pen had made Four and Twenty.

This Treaty was already Sign'd without the leaſt Suſpition that either Duke *Francis* or the Prince had of it: for indeed, who could have expected any ſuch thing? But in regard it was a thing actually done, and that the King car'd not to make a Secret of it, thoſe two Princes had notice of it ſoon enough. For Monſieur *de Lionne*, who was himſelf the Author of the Negotiation, made it known to the Count of *Furſtenbergh*, and the Count the next moment carried the News to Prince *Charles*, who was ſo ſtunn'd with the Blow, that he knew not where he was. 'Tis true, Monſieur *Lionne* had not poſitively ſaid that the Treaty was yet ſign'd; and therefore in regard the Friends of Duke *Francis*, and Duke *Francis* himſelf were

in hopes, that it would prove no more than a Loud Threat; or, that if the Duke had reſolv'd upon ſuch an Extremity, he might be wrought upon to change his Mind, by making him ſenſible of his going about to ruin his Family, therefore Prince *Charles* was adviſ'd to go and throw himſelf at his Feet.

The Prince was deeply ſenſible of his Misfortunes: for he ſaw himſelf not only ſtript in a Moment of the Territories of the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon the Succeſſion to which he depended; but that which more cruelly perplex'd him at that inſtant was, that after this terrible blow, he was no more to think of Madamoiſelle *de Nemours*: there being no likelihood that ſhe would marry a Prince deſpoil'd of all his hopes, and reduc'd to the Condition of a Private Life.

In the mid'ſt of theſe thoughts, he accoſted his Uncle with a Conſternation hardly to be repreſented by the moſt Skilful Pencil. He mov'd him at firſt with an infinite Number of wounding Expreſſions; and after he had laid before him, with a profound Submiſſion, the Injury which he did to himſelf in the World, if he perſiſted in his Reſolution to make a Foreign Prince the Succeſſor to his Territories, to the Prejudice of his own Lawful Heirs: He conjur'd him to withdraw himſelf from *Paris*; there being but that only way to break a Treaty, the Concluſion of which he would infallibly repent when it was too late. He beſought him to conſider, that out of a deſire to ruin him, he ruin'd the Prince of *Vaudemont*, his Son; and that he would be univerſally look'd upon

upon as the weakeſt of all the Princes of *Europe*; which he muſt be forc'd to acknowledge upon maturer and more conſiderate thoughts. And that he might endeavour by all manner of means to bring him to a Recollection of himſelf, and render his perſwaſions prevalent, he added, that if he were reſolv'd to leave *France*, which he moſt humbly beſought him to do, he was ready to follow him, and to ſurrender himſelf up into his hands; to give an abſolute Obedience to his Commands; and in a word, he let him know, that after what manner ſoever he us'd him, he ſhould be ſatisfied with his Deſtiny, provided he brake off the Treaty.

Now in regard that all that Prince *Charles* ſaid proceeded from his Heart, his Remonſtrances pierced the Duke of *Lorrain* ſo deeply to the quick, that he could not forbear to relent, and to proteſt that he had over-raſhly engag'd himſelf in that Affair. But the Prince was come too late; the Duke could make no Advantage either of his Counſel or his Remonſtrances: And tho' he were a Perſon of a preſent utterance, he knew not at firſt what Anſwer to make the Prince. But at length, after he had paus'd a while, he told him, that himſelf was the Cauſe of his Misfortune; that if he had not driven on ſo furiouſly as he did, he had never reduc'd himſelf to that Extremity; and that it was an Act of Deſpair to which he had forc'd him againſt his own will. He did not think it neceſſary to tell the Prince he had Sign'd the Treaty, but he let him underſtand, that he had given his word ſo poſitively

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to the King, that he could not retract. And whereas the Prince perſiſted in repreſenting to him the neceſſity of his withdrawing himſelf out of *France*, and that then there might be ſome Expedient thought upon, he reply'd, That it was obſerv'd on all parts, ever ſince the Negotiation was on foot, that the Counſel which he propos'd was good, but dangerous to take; that in ſhort, he had been ſo unfortunate at *Toledo*, that he would not try the Experiment, whether he ſhould be more happy in *Paris*, ſhould it be his Misfortune to be Arreſted.

While the Prince was thus importuning the Duke his Uncle, Madam *de Nemours*, and the Marſhal *D'Eſtree* arriv'd at the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Lodgings. Now in regard they could ſpeak with more freedom than Prince *Charles*, they omitted nothing to ſhew him in the worſt dreſs the Error he had committed. And the Marſhal after ſeveral Diſcourſes, told him plainly, That neither the Prince his Nephew, nor his Son the Count of *Vaudemont*, would have any reaſon to be beholding to him, unleſs he reſolv'd to retract what he had done; beſides, that all the World would talk of him to his eternal Infamy. To which he reply'd with a cold indifferency, that as for his Nephew, he did not pretend to oblige him, though he began to repent that he had carried on his Revenge ſo far; That he was above all that his Enemies could ſay of him, to the ſtaining either of his Honor or his Memory; and that as for the Prince of *Vaudemont*, he had manag'd his Intereſts ſo well, that he would have Cauſe to be glad to ſee himſelf ſtript of an Eſtate which he

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was not ſure that he ſhould ever enjoy, though he never had ſign'd the Agreement, conſidering the Pretenſions of Duke *Francis*, and the Condition of Affairs. In ſhort, beſides the Articles mention'd, the King had accorded him the Liberty of diſpoſing a Hundred thouſand Crowns a year, to whom he ſhould think fit, to be charg'd upon ſuch Lands as he ſhould make choice of in his Dutchies; and he had alſo leave for once to Levy a Million, and to employ it as he thought convenient.

Madam *de Nemours* was ſo exaſperated at the Duke's Anſwer, that ſhe brake forth into a violent Paſſion againſt him; more then that, ſhe complain'd after a moſt extraordinary manner, of the Injuſtice which the King himſelf had done her, inſomuch that the Marſhal was conſtrain'd to give her a Check: for indeed ſhe utter'd very injurious Language in the Tranſports of her Choler. But theſe were only airy Complaints, that ſignified little, and therefore might the more eaſily be forgiven. For beſides that theſe Ejaculations of a boyling Paſſion, no way contributed to accommodate the Breach, the Duke had already done that which he was fully perſwaded he ought not to have done. And this was evident the next day. In a word it was diſcover'd, that the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf had carried the Agreement Sign'd, to the King, at the time that he was raffling at St. *Germain's* Fair; and this Circumſtance was farther added, that the King had no ſooner caſt his Eyes upon him, but with a ſmile he told him, There was never a Jewel in the Fair of equal value to the Price of that which he had brought him. The

The King, till the Signing, Sealing and Delivery of this Treaty, had look'd upon the Prince of *Lorrain* with ſo much Eſteem and Honour, and had given him alſo ſo many Teſtimonies of his Favour, upon all Occaſions that offer'd themſelves, that this Unfortunate Prince, in that Extremity to which he ſaw himſelf reduc'd, believ'd that the only courſe he had to take, was to have recourſe to the King's Generoſity. For conſidering what was done, there was no likelihood that he could expect any thing from the Duke of *Lorrain*. So that he rely'd no farther upon him; but he flatter'd himſelf that the King would ſuffer himſelf to be wrought upon, to deſiſt from his Pretenſions of Succeſſion to the Duke's Territories, if he could but come to lay open the Matter before him; and this was alſo the Opinion of his Friends. Now in regard he was to be at a Ball, that was to be Danced within ſome few days before his Majeſty, believing that while the Preparations for that laſted, he might find ſome Pretence to diſcourſe the King more frequently than he was wont to do, he neglected no opportunity to ſpeak with him. At laſt, three or four days before the Ball, having met with a favourable Moment, he conjur'd him to be his Protector, as he had been till that day; to remember how much his his Royal Word was engag'd for the Concluſion of his Marriage with Madamoiſelle *de Nemours*, and not to take advantage, to his prejudice of the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Uncle's Hatred toward him; ſince his Majeſty was ſo well convinc'd, that it was only becauſe he had thrown

thrown himſelf into his Arms, that he had drawn this Tempeſt upon himſelf. I know not whether the King gave any heed to this Remonſtrance, how ſubmiſſive ſoever it might be; but howſoever it were, he was not a little ſurpriz'd at it. He look'd very ſternly upon the Prince, and in a grave and ſerious tone, told him, That Kings did not govern themſelves like private Perſons. That there were certain Maxims of State which were a Law to them; which Law was alſo very Natural; that nevertheleſs, if he would confide in his Affection, and abſolutely refer the Buſineſs to him, he would promiſe him to take a particular Care of his Intereſts, and that conſidering the Condition of his Affairs, the beſt Counſel he could follow, was to rely upon his favour.

The Duke perceiving well by this uncertain and indefinite Anſwer, that there was nothing more to be done there, took his leave without making any reply; and though he had laid the deſign of a Method quite contrary to that which the King advis'd him to take, he diſſembled ſo well his Reſentment till the Night that the Ball was to be danc'd, that no body had the leaſt ſuſpition of the Reſolution he had taken. He came to the Ball, and danc'd with a ſurprizing Activity of Body, and Gayety of Mind. But he had no ſooner finiſhed his Part, but he withdrew himſelf, and that Night departed *Paris*, attended only by his Squire, and his *Valet de Chambre*, ſo privately that nobo dy perceiv'd it. This Abſenting himſelf, as much agreed upon as it was between himſelf, Duke *Francis*, and the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*, put them however

ever into a very great Conſternation, when they came to reflect upon the Deſtiny of a young Prince, who ſaw himſelf conſtrain'd to go a Begging, from Court to Court, the Favour of Foreign Princes, after ſo many fair Hopes, and ſo frequently arriving within view of being one of the moſt happy Princes of *Europe*. But the little hope which he had, that the King of *France*, who had been a long time in love with the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, would reſign his new Pretenſions, by the Donation of *Charles* IV. and the ſevere Neceſſity to which the Prince of *Lorrain* was reduc'd to wander perhaps in vain, without meeting any Settlement, worthy his Great Heart, and Birth; All theſe and a thouſand other various Thoughts crowding into their Minds, afflicted them to that degree, that they could not diſſemble their Grief, whatever they could do to conceal it. And if Duke *Francis*, and the Dutcheſs of *Orleance* were ſo extreamly perplex'd for the departure of the Prince, Madam *de Nemours* was no leſs. For as ſhe was a Woman of great Sincerity, and that ſhe was not of a humour to conceal her Paſſions, ſhe ſhew'd her Reſentment to all the World. And for the Princeſs her Daughter, ſhe was ſo little Miſtreſs of her ſelf upon this Occaſion, that ſhe could not refrain from burſting forth into Tears.

THE

THE LIFE OF Charles V.

DUKE of Lorrain and Bar, And *Generaliſſimo* of all the Impèrial Forces.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE Prince of *Lorrain*'s withdrawing himſelf, did not a little of a ſuddain ſurprize the King. But in regard, that conſidering the Condition of his Affairs, there was no danger to be apprehended from it, he did not much mind it. Nay, when he had better conſider'd it, he was rather overjoy'd that the Prince

Prince had Baniſh'd himſelf. For though he had let the World already ſufficiently know that he was no way diſpos'd to give Ear to the Plaints and Suits of that Prince, he was glad that now the Prince had given the World an occaſion to ſay, That the Prince himſelf had drawn all his Misfortunes upon his own Head; that he might have come to an agreement with him, had he left the Buſineſs to his Diſcretion; and that he might perhaps have been wrought upon by his Submiſſions, and his Services, to have reſign'd, in his Favour, the Donation of the Duke his Uncle. Beſides, that it was a plauſible pretence to break off the Marriage with Mademoiſelle *de Nemours*; for there it was that the game was to begin.

On the other ſide, the Prince eſteeming himſelf happy, that he had ſo well withdrawn himſelf from Court, where he was afraid of doing thoſe Things, which might in the Conſequence be prejudicial to him; and fearing beſides, leaſt ſo ſoon as it ſhould be perceiv'd he was miſſing, that he might be purſu'd and Arreſted by the Kings Warrant, after all his diligence to avoid this ſecond Misfortune; he was no ſooner got out of the Hall where the Ball was Danc'd, but he made haſte to a Street, where ſome of his People attended him with his Coach; and in a Moment after, taking Horſe, he rode all Night, and all the next day, without making any ſtop, till he arriv'd at *Beſanſon*; from whence it was agreed between Duke *Francis*, and Madam *d'Orleance*, that as ſoon as he received News from them, he ſhould immediately depart for *Vienna*.

Now

Now in regard this was the ſafeſt courſe that he could take; beſides that he himſelf was poſitive, that conſidering the condition of his Affairs, there was a neceſſity for him to throw himſelf into the Emperors Protection, Duke *Francis* made no queſtion but that he would have followed his own Reſolutions. But his Love for the Princeſs of *Tuſcany* unluckily awaking in him at a time when he had ſomething elſe to think of, of a ſuddain he alter'd his Deſign; and without foreſeeing, that what he projected could ſignifie nothing; that he went to expoſe himſelf, and at the ſame time to expoſe the Princeſs, he departed the next day for *Florence*, under pretence of going to *Rome*, to inform the Pope of his Condition, and deſire his Protection.

The Grand Duke, who knew too well the Affection which the Princeſs of *Tuſcany* had had for the Prince of *Lorrain*, and fear'd that the preſence of a Prince that was handſome, and had been once Belov'd, would trouble the repoſe of the Prince his Son, was very much allarum'd at this unexpected viſit. However he paid him all the Honour imaginable: He told him how much he was concern'd for his Misfortunes, and proteſted his extream Sorrow to ſee a Prince of his Merit reduc'd to ſuch a Condition. However that did not hinder the Dukes intimating to him, himſelf; and letting him know by others, that he ſhould be infinitely oblig'd to him if he would retire from his Court. Adding withal, that he could not but know himſelf, the powerful Reaſons that conſtrain'd him to that Requeſt, and that when he

had conſider'd it, he would never take it ill. As for the Princeſs of *Tuſcany*, ſhe never ſaw him but in Company, and that very rarely too. Thereupon following the Advice, and withall foreſeeing the little Mortifications, which he was likely every day to undergo if he ſtaid in *Florence*, he departed the City, and went immediately for *Rome*.

It is not to be expreſs'd what infinite Teſtimonies of Tenderneſs and Affection the Pope gave him. For beſides, that from the firſt Moment he ſaw him, he was Charm'd with his Wit, his Air, and his Behaviour, the deplorable Condition to which he was reduc'd, augmented the extream Kindneſs which he had conceiv'd at firſt ſight for a Prince who ſeem'd to him ſo little to deſerve a Deſtiny ſo ſevere. He made him deeply ſenſible of the great Inclination which he had to grant him his Protection, and embrace his Intereſts. But in regard, that at that time the King of *France* and he were at ſome Difference, he gave him to underſtand, that it was abſolutely impoſſible to do him any Service with that Monarch, who inſtead of liſt'ning to him, would look upon whatever he could ſay in his behalf, as an Affront. And his Holineſs at length ſo perfectly convinc'd him of the little Succeſs that could be expected from ſuch an Attempt, that the Prince at laſt, without any more ado, concluded to go to *Vienna*, ſeeing well that the Popes Favour could do him no good.

Had he been over-rul'd by the Inclinations of his Heart, he had certainly repaſs'd through *Florence*. He felt within himſelf thoſe violent Emo-

Emotions for the Princeſs of *Tuſcany*, which it was impoſſible for him to quell, though he well knew at the ſame time that he only purſu'd a Shadow; and that it was a Weakneſs which could not chooſe but do him an Injury, if he did not endeavour to conceal it, ſince he could not quite extinguiſh it. For it may be ſaid, that he laid as much to Heart the loſs of that Princeſs, as of the Territories of *Lorrain* and *Bar*. He found by Experience upon this Occaſion, that a Flame never well quench'd is eaſily rekindl'd; and that his firſt Inclinations had got Poſſeſſion of the better ſhare of his Thoughts. But his Reaſon, and his Duty, or rather his real Love for Madamoiſelle *de Nemours*, having at length vanquiſh'd his Chimerical Paſſion, he reſolv'd at laſt to think no more of the Princeſs of *Tuſcany*, as long as he liv'd; and becauſe he would not expoſe himſelf to a new Temptation, he went directly for *Venice*, where he was receiv'd with great Honour.

Before he arriv'd at *Vienna*, he ſtopp'd a while at *Munick*, where he receiv'd ſo many Civilities from the Elector and Electoreſs of *Bavaria*, that he could have willingly tarry'd longer at that Court, but that his Affairs call'd him farther off. He arriv'd at length at *Vienna* where the Emperor upon his firſt coming, aſſur'd him, that he would lay his Intereſts to Heart, and when opportunity offer'd, he would uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to reſtore him to his Rights, and ſecure him a Succeſſion, which the Duke of *Lorrain* could not diſpoſe from his own Line without the greateſt Injuſtice in the World.

He also took such an Affection for the Prince, that he always call'd him his Brother, remembring that when they were Children, they were wont to give one another that Appellation.

In the mean time the King of *France*, to shew his extraordinary Joy for having so easily acquir'd two such considerable Dukedoms, gave Order for a Carousel in the grand Piazza of the *Tuilleries*, with an incredible Magnificence: But for all that he was forc'd to make use of Violence, before he could assure himself the Possession of his new Inheritance.

In the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Donation, as I have already observ'd, the Duke had inserted an Article, whereby the King was oblig'd to cause all the Princes of the House of *Lorrain* to be acknowledg'd Princes of the Blood in all the States and Parliaments of *France*, to the end they might be capable of Succeeding to the Crown, in case the Line of *Bourbon* happen'd to fail. So that when the King, in pursuance of the Treaty, Summon'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to deliver *Marsal* into his Hands, the Duke on the other side requir'd from the King, the Allowance of the Treaty in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and that he might be admitted into the States of the Kingdom; in regard it was agreed, that before all things, he should cause all the Conditions and Articles of the Donation to be accepted in Form according to the Covenants.

Neither did the King oppose the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Demand at all; but when the Covenants came to be put in Execution, he found an infinite number of Obstructions which he never expected.

Duke

Duke *Francis* no ſooner underſtood that the King was gone in Perſon to the Palace to Regiſter the Donation ſo prejudicial to all his Family, but he preſently haſten'd thither, to make ſome Oppoſition, which immediately he did, though he were thruſt back by the Kings Officers; and that too with an unſeemly Violence.

He ſet forth in that Oppoſition, that the Donation made by his Brother to the King, was to be lookt upon as Null and Void. For if the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar* were to be conſider'd as States, where the *Salick* Law took place, they were not Alienable; and farther, that if the laſt Will and Teſtament of *René* King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Lorrain*, were to be obſerv'd as it ought to be, by which his Territories were be Entailed upon the Male Heirs, the ſame Conſequence was ſtill to be drawn from it, that the Perſon in Poſſeſſion was but Tenant for Life, ſo that the Duke of *Lorrain* could not diſpoſe of the Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Bar* as he had done. In the Second place, That if on the other ſide, they inſiſted upon the Female Right, which was moſt obſerv'd in *Lorrain*, as might be prov'd by ſeveral Examples, and chiefly by that of the Princeſs *Nicole*, in whoſe Right *Charles* IV. enjoy'd the Government of the Dutchies which he had Alienated; thoſe Dukedoms ought to revert to Prince *Charles*, the only Heir of that Dutcheſs.

But Duke *Francis* was not the only Perſon that oppos'd the Regiſtring of the Donation. For the Duke of *Vendoſm* at the ſame time preſented a Petition, wherein he beſought his Majeſty to conſider, That *Henry* IV. had ſent a

Declaration to the Parliament, purporting, That he ſhould walk in Proceſſions immediately next after the Princes of the Blood, and according to that Declaration, his Majeſty allow'd him that place in the Ceremony of the Knights of the Holy Ghoſt. And therefore that he hop'd his Majeſty would grant the ſame Priviledge to his Children, who had a Right to it by their Mothers ſide, being the Daughter of *Emanuel* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Mercœur*, who ought to precede all thoſe of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and that of the Marquis of *Mouy*, that were deſcended only from the younger Family. And laſtly, he beſought his Majeſty to permit both him and his Children to make their Oppoſition, and defend their Rights, according to the Rules of the Common Law. The Prince of *Courtenai*, and his Children alſo made the ſame Proteſtations. And the Dukes and Peers Remonſtrated in their places, That the Preeminence that the King had granted to the Princes of *Lorrain*, wounded the higheſt Dignity in the Kingdom. That they could produce Examples to prove that the Princes of the Blood, and even Kings themſelves of Forraign Countries had been preceeded by the Peers at the Coronations of the Kings of *France*, in Aſſemblies of Parliament, and at other Ceremonies; and that they hop'd his Majeſty would not ſuffer them to undergo any Diminutions of their Privileges under his Reign.

They who were concern'd in this Affair, flatter'd themſelves, that the Parliament would refuſe to verifie the Donation. But in regard, the King was come to the Parliament, with Four thou-

Thouſand Men at his Heels, and conſequently with a Reſolution to be Obey'd, the Parliament without any Heſitation fulfill'd the Kings Pleaſure. So that the ſame day, which was the 27th of *February* 1662. the King having himſelf preſented a Declaration containing the Clauſes and Conditions upon which *Charles* IV. had ſurrender'd to him the Propriety of the Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, the Declaration was Regiſter'd. And to ſhew that he did not altogether deſpiſe the Oppoſitions and Remonſtrances which had been made him, and that he had not laid 'em aſide, till he had made it appear that they were of no validity, the Advocate General *Talon*, maintain'd, before he came to his Concluſions, that the States of *Lorrain* and *Bar* were never regulated by the *Salic* Law; and as for what concern'd the Entail made upon the Heirs Male by the King of *Sicily*, which was that which Duke *Francis* alledg'd, it made for the Kings of *France*, ſeeing that *Charles* of *Anjou*, Nephew and Succeſſor to *René*, not having any Childern, made *Lewis* XI. and *Charles* the VIII. his Heirs. To which he added, that 'twas Ridiculous to alledge the Succeſſion of Women, after having ſet up the Male Title only: That *Lorrain* having been always dependant upon the Crown of *France*, it was but juſt that it ſhould be reunited to it; and in a Word, that by whatever Title Duke *Charles* claim'd a Right to the Dukedoms, as he had been ſtript of 'em by the Deceas'd King, ſo they were not reſtor'd to him but by the Indulgence of his Succeſſor; and therefore ſince there was a way found out to unite them again to the Crown by an Authen-

tick Stipulation, it behov'd his Majeſty for the Intereſt of his Kingdom, to make his Advantage of it. And as for what concern'd the Honour which the King had accorded to the Princes of *Lorrain*, to be reputed Princes of the Blood, it was a Privilege that was never yet conteſted with a Crowned Head; though Monſieur the Chancellor had ſpoken very boldly in that Affair; for he had poſitively and in proper terms affirm'd, That the King could not make Princes of the Blood without his Conſort the Queen.

The Publication of the Donation thus made, put Duke *Francis* into a great Conſternation, and all thoſe of the Houſe of *Lorrain*. There were none but ſome of thoſe Princes that were ſettled in *France*, and enjoy'd all their Eſtates in that Kingdom, who ſuffer'd themſelves to be dazled with the Hopes of coming to be Princes of the Blood, and of being preferr'd under that Character, to all Foreign Soveraign Princes, without conſidering that it was to the Extinction of their own Family; and that there was ſo little likelihood of ſeeing that Article for their Aſſociation into the Princes of the Blood obſerv'd, in regard of an Infinite Number of Oppoſitions that were made, and would be made every day, that they had more reaſon to fear, leſt one day they ſhould be reduc'd to be no Princes at all.

In the mean time, Duke *Francis* omitted no Induſtry to let the Duke of *Lorrain* underſtand the wrong he had done him: And his Remonſtrances wrought ſo effectually upon the Duke, that after he teſtified his extream Sorrow for having

having ſign'd the Donation, he promis'd without intermiſſion to labour the Diſannulling it, and that ſo ſoon as he had brought his deſign to paſs, he would reſtore his Territories to Prince *Charles*; reſerving to himſelf a reaſonable Penſion. And to aſſure him of Performance, and let him ſee that he approv'd the Prince's withdrawing out of *France*, he had furniſh'd him with Five hundred Piſtols to defray his Expences to *Vienna*.

The Duke being thus return'd to himſelf, and extreamly troubled at the Donation which he had made of his Territories to the King, refus'd to Surrender up *Marſal*, though the Stipulation were verify'd in Parliament. And the Pretence which the Duke laid hold on was very lawful; for that the Parliament, in verifying the Deed, had added a Condition which render'd it utterly void. The Clauſe of the Verification imported, that the Princes of *Lorrain* ſhould not be reputed Princes of the Blood, but upon Condition, that all the Princes of the Blood ſhould Sign and Ratifie the Stipulation: for defect of which they were all in general excluded from the Benefit of that Aſſociation. It was urg'd by the Duke of *Lorrain*, that there were ſeveral Princes of that Houſe, who were as yet under Age, and therefore incapable of doing any Act that could ſtand good in Law; that Duke *Francis* had put in Exceptions againſt the Regiſtring of the Donation; that Prince *Charles*, his Nephew, had withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, becauſe he would not be forc'd to Sign it; and ſo, that Clauſe which the Parliament had added, overthrowing

all

all, he was not bound to perform the Articles of the Treaty which concern'd the King's Intereſt: that the King had not perform'd thoſe, that concern'd the Intereſt of his Houſe, ſince he had not ſtript himſelf of his Territories in Kindneſs to him, but with this Conſideration, that the Princes of the Houſe of *Lorrain* might be in a Capacity to ſucceed to the Government of a Kingdom which had formerly belong'd to their Predeceſſors.

The King, who ſaw that the Duke of *Lorrain* was fix'd in his Reſolutions, urg'd no farther the Surrender of *Marſal*. He made a ſhew, as if he did not much care for that Town: and imagin'd that the Vexation for what had paſs'd a little before, had put the Duke into an ill Humour, and that if he manag'd him well, he ſhould bring him in time frankly to perform whatever he deſir'd: and there was great likelihood that this way would take. But when the King found him to be unalterable; that all his Managements prov'd fruitleſs; that he ſtill obſtinately demanded that the Parliament ſhould change their Language; and that he was ready to retire into *Lorrain*, with a Reſolution to defend *Marſal*; he thought it then high time to employ more effectual means than he had hitherto made uſe of. To that purpoſe, he endeavour'd to hold Intelligence with the *Lorrain* Nobility, who were not a little diſcontented. He imagin'd, that if he could but gain ſome of the Principal Gentlemen, there would be nothing more eaſie than to make himſelf Maſter of *Marſal*, and ſome other conſiderable Place to boot; and

there-

therefore to effect this, there was no means that he left uneſſay'd. This Negotiation was undertaken by the Governor who ſtay'd at *Nanci*, with a ſtrong Gariſon, till the Fortifications were demoliſh'd, and he miſs'd but very little of Succeſs. For in regard he made large Promiſes to the Nobility, that if they would ſhake off the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Yoak, they ſhould be reſtor'd to their Ancient Privileges, they ſtood tottering a long time. But coming at length to conſider, that there is ſeldom the more Liberty gain'd by the Change of Domination, and that *our Enemy becomes our Maſter*, they rejected the King's Offers: chooſing rather to languiſh for ſome time under the Government of a lawful Prince, though he diſputed their Privileges, than to purchaſe a dubious Liberty by Treaſon and Revolt.

But before the *Lorrain* Nobility had determin'd to refuſe the Advantages offer'd them by the King of *France*, Prince *Charles*, who remain'd at the Court of *Vienna*, was inform'd of what paſs'd at *Nanci*; and indeed, the News alarum'd him; for he thought the King would compaſs his Ends. Fearing therefore, leſt if he became Maſter of any one Strong Hold, he would ſoon get Poſſeſſion of all the reſt, and that it would not then be in the Duke's Power to expel the Enemy out of his Dominions, he poſted away for *Lorrain*, and found a means himſelf to get into *Marſal* undiſcover'd. He was no ſooner arriv'd, but he diſpatch'd a Courier to the Duke his Uncle, to give him notice, that he might not be ſurpriz'd at his coming; Proteſting withal, that his putting himſelf into the

the Town, was only to ſecure it, upon the Information which had been given him, that the King of *France* had a deſign to Beſiege it; but that he was reſolv'd to defend the Place, and Sacrifice his Life for his Intereſts. The Governor alſo of the Place had ſent him an Expreſs for the ſame reaſon, wherein he let him know, that beſides, that the Prince was in no Condition to attempt any thing to his Prejudice, he had made him a thouſand Proteſtations, that he had undertaken that Journey only to Sacrifice his Life for him, and to oppoſe the Deſigns of *France*. But the Duke miſtruſting the Prince, did all he could to get him out of *Marſal*: To which purpoſe he caus'd Duke *Francis* to write to him, and withal wrote himſelf to him. The Prince's Friends likewiſe, who ſaw there was ſomewhat of raſhneſs in the Attempt, in regar'd he expos'd himſelf to the danger of falling into the hands either of the Duke or the King, were the firſt that inceſſantly importun'd him to withdraw.

Thereupon the Prince being convinc'd that the King of *France* had no Deſign upon *Marſal*, as having not yet aſſur'd himſelf of the Nobility; and finding beſides, the King could not corrupt any one Officer of the Gariſon; and that he had fancied to himſelf without any grounds, that he could make himſelf Maſter of the Place; he departed ſome few days after, and return'd to *Vienna*.

This Action of the Prince of *Lorrain*, as inconſiderately undertaken as it was, ſhew'd nevertheleſs a Great and Generous Spirit, which they who blam'd him moſt, admir'd in him.

And

And all agreed that it was an Auſpicious Prelu-dium to his future Performances; and that in that Attempt they beheld the Bravery of his Anceſtors. To which they added, that what would have been an inexcuſable Imprudence in an experienc'd Captain, was a piece of Temerity to be applauded in a young Prince, whom it behov'd to be covetous of Honour; that they who never had an opportunity to ſignalize themſelves, ought not to refuſe the firſt that preſents it ſelf; and that the Prince had done more in daring to put himſelf into *Marſal* at that time, than if he had made himſelf Maſter of it at another: and this was alſo the Diſcourſe of his Enemies. Nor could *Lewis* XIV. refrain from acknowledging, that he had made himſelf an Enemy, that he fear'd would find him work enough one day. And the Duke himſelf was ſo ſcar'd with a Reſolution ſo daring, that in a ſhort time after, he left *Paris* and return'd into *Lorrain*, out of an apprehenſion that the Prince would not ſtop there, but that he was labouring underhand to make a Party, and excite the Nobility to Rebellion. For he could not put it out of his Mind that the Prince would have engag'd in an Enterprize ſo hazardous, but that he had kept Intelligence with his Enemies: which was a Conjecture not without Probability.

However theſe Reaſons could not oblige the Duke to be more moderate toward the Nobility in reſpect of their Privileges. Nay, he carried things with ſo high a hand, that they were near upon the Point of throwing off their Masks, and declaring for the King of

France;

France; who desirous to make Advantage of the Occasions of their Discontents, never ceas'd solliciting them to shake off the Duke's Fetters, flattering them withal, that under his Government, they should enjoy their Privileges so amply, that they should never repent the change of their Master. Nevertheless, the *Lorrain* Nobility, upon better Consideration, chose rather to suffer for a while, than to venture the utmost Extremity; so that all the Practises of the King of *France* came to nothing. Which caus'd him to take a more sure way to constrain the Duke to deliver up *Marsal*.

He therefore Summon'd him to Surrender the Place without further delay: alledging, without vouchsafing to hear the Duke's Reasons, that the Princess *Nicole*, had privately pass'd a Donation of the Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Barr* to the deceas'd *Lewis* XIII. his Father, and that he himself had made another so authentick, that it was impossible for him to retract it, whatever Imaginations he might have; and thereupon, he order'd his Forces that lay still in and about *Nanci*, to seize upon the Duke's Dominions; which was presently done with all extremity of Rigor. For the Counts of *Guiche* and *Pradel*, who commanded the Body, no sooner receiv'd their Orders, but they constrain'd all the Duke's Officers to deliver up all the Money that was in their hands to Monsieur *Colbert*, who was sent into *Lorrain* to take the King's Accompts. And not content with these Vexations, he upheld the Claims of some of the Nobility, who laying hold of the Advantage, rais'd Men, seized upon

on ſome Caſtles, which as they pretended, the Duke unjuſtly detain'd from them, and mitted an infinite Number of Hoſtilities.

The King perceiviug that notwithſtanding all that he had done, the Duke ſtill kept *Marſal*, reſolv'd at length to ſeize the Place by force, and for that end to beſiege it. However to obſerve the Formalities uſual upon ſuch Occaſions, he ſent one of the Captains of his Guards to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to let him know, that he was reſolv'd to have *Marſal*, whatever it coſt him; and that he had no more to do, but to determine without farther Heſitation, to perform the laſt Treaty in every particular. He told him farther, that it would be his beſt way to ſurrender the place quietly; as being reſolv'd, that if he met with the leaſt reſiſtance, he would ſeize upon all his Territories, whereas he ſhould ſhew him all the Eſteem and Reſpect he could deſire, if he freely and willingly perform'd his Promiſe.

Charles IV. not being ſtrong enough to oppoſe the Arms of *France*, took the only Counſel that was to be followed in ſuch a tickliſh Conjuncture; which was to Treat with the King anew. He ſent him therefore Word, that he would enter into new Articles with him, which were concluded at *Marſal* the Firſt of *September* 1663.

I. *That the Duke of* Lorrain *ſhould within three days deliver up* Marſal *into the Hands of the King of* France; *in lieu of which, his Majeſty promis'd him the Free Enjoyment of his Territories and Demeſnes; and to reſtore him the Money which had been already ſeiz'd; and that he would recall*

all

all his Forces as well out of Nancy, *as all other Places in* Lorrain, *ſo ſoon as the Fortifications were demoliſh'd.*

II. *That he ſhould be at Liberty either to raſe the Fortifications within a year, or elſe to enjoy the Propriety of the Town, which he pleaſed. But in that caſe he ſhould be oblig'd to ſettle upon the Duke other Lands equivalent to the Demeſnes of the Place.*

III. *That if his Majeſty within one year ſhould chooſe to demoliſh the Fortifications, he ſhould reſtore the City to the Duke with all the Demeſnes belonging to it; together with all the Warlike Ammunition, and Furniture of the Cannon which ſhould be in the Place when it ſhall be reſtor'd to the Duke: of all which there ſhould be an Inventory made.*

IV. *That the King ſhould conſtrain the Gentlemen who had taken Arms to return to their own homes, and reſtore the Caſtles which they had ſeiz'd in his Dominions; ſaving that they might be left to take their Remedy at Law to ſue for ſuch Pretenſions as they had againſt the Duke.*

V. *That in purſuance of this Treaty, the Duke ſhould be reſtor'd to his Territories, according to the Treaty of* Vincennes, *which the King promis'd to Obſerve, and Ordered to be Regiſtred in the Parliament of* Paris.

Now in regard the King had renounc'd his Succeſſion to the Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, the Duke was deſirous to have an Article inſerted, wherein the Renunciation ſhould be expreſſed in due form. But the King would not hear with that Ear. The Miniſters which the King had ſent to treat at *Marſal*, told the Duke, that the King never cancell'd by Publick Acts any Treaties which he had once Sign'd; that it was

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below his Royal Majeſty ſo to do; and that it behov'd the Duke to be ſatisfy'd, that the King had tacitly renounced the Treaty at *Montmarre*. So that the Duke, not having any other way to take, was conſtrain'd to be contented with what was done; though the Aſſurances which they gave him, that the King would think no more of the Treaty of Succeſſion, were but only Verbal Aſſurances, upon which he could not depend; not having an Army powerful enough to make the Article to be interpreted according to the true meaning of the Words.

However it were, *Charles* the Fourth was ſo well ſatisfied with the laſt Treaty, that he let the Nobility be at Quiet: and though he were alſo convinc'd at the ſame time, that there were ſeveral Gentlemen who had inſtigated others to ſhake off their Fetters, and betake themſelves to the Protection of the King of *France*, he was contented to let them perceive his Reſentment by mild and gentle Admonition; and to ſhew that he had no Animoſity againſt them, notwithſtanding the falſe Steps which ſome of 'em had trod, he advanc'd 'em to Principal Places of Truſt, which was that they never expected.

And this was a happy Accident for the *Lorrain* Gentlemen, as having brought them all to participate of his Favours. Only Duke *Francis* and Prince *Charles* his Nephew, were the two Perſons that reaped no Benefit by this laſt Treaty.

However ſo ſoon as the Duke of *Lorrain*, and Duke *Francis*, his Brother, were return'd home into their Dominions, they had both concerted together to free themſelves from the

French Yoak, and break the Treaty of *Montmarre*. And *Charles* IV. had engag'd, that if they could but once bring about their Deſigns, he would acknowledge Prince *Charles* for his Lawful Succeſſor. For in regard that by the Treaty of *Marſal* the King of *France* had renounc'd the Donation that Entitl'd him to the Succeſſion of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, Duke *Francis* was of Opinion, that ſeeing the Duke ſo well diſpos'd, it would not be amiſs to ſend for Prince *Charles* from *Vienna*, and imparted his Intentions to the Duke his Brother, who readily conſented that the Prince ſhould quit the Emperors Court, and repair into his Dominions. Thereupon Duke *Francis*, well ſatisfi'd that he had met with no Oppoſition, ſent away his chief Uſher to *Vienna*. But he was hardly got to the Frontiers of *Lorrain*, before he was overtaken with a Prohibition from the Duke to go any farther. And in regard, the Duke was afraid, that his Injunction to the contrary, would not hinder the Prince from haſtning his Journey, and meeting him at *Nancy*, where he then lay, he gave Order to all the Governors of his Towns, through which he thought he might come, to ſtop him; alleadging, that the reaſon why he dealt ſo odly by the Prince his Nephew, was, that he might not be conſtrain'd to break with the King of *France*, with whom he acknowledg'd, he had been ſufficiently embroil'd already.

But the Principal Reaſon why he would not have the Prince of *Lorrain* ſo near him, was his fear leſt the Prince ſhould make himſelf too many Friends within his Territories. And though

though the King of *France* car'd little whither the Prince were in *Lorrain* or in *Auſtria*, in regard that he had actually made it appear that he was incens'd againſt him, not only for leaving his Court without taking Leave, but alſo becauſe of ſome injurious Language that he had let fall againſt him both at *Rome* and *Vienna*, the Duke was glad of this pretence, which he had not in his thoughts when Duke *Francis* made the propoſal of ſending for him, but afterwards came into his mind.

On the other ſide, though the Prince had been long accuſtom'd to theſe Severities of his Uncle, he was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at this Prohibition of his, but much more at the Pretence which he made uſe of for it. And therefore touch'd to the Quick at this Repulſe, and deſirous withal to juſtifie himſelf before the King, that he had never mention'd him but with all Reſpect imaginable in all the Courts where he had been, away he flew to *Paris*, without Conſulting any Perſon about him, or ſo much as Duke *Francis* himſelf, and without reflecting, that conſidering the Condition of his own and his Uncles Affairs, it was a moſt headlong Reſolution, and a dangerous Attempt which would inevitably coſt him a dear Repentance; and it fell out accordingly. For the King was ſo far from being inclin'd in the leaſt to hear his Juſtification, that Monſieur *Tellier*, to whom he made his firſt Addreſſes, having given notice to the King of his Arrival, and of his Deſign, he ſent one of the Captains of his Guard, with Orders to Command him forthwith to depart the City, and within four days to quit the King-

dom. And though the Marquis of *Villequier*, who was the Perſon that carried the King's Orders to him, took his leave ſo ſoon as he had deliver'd his Meſſage, yet he left behind him a Priviledg'd Gentleman of the Guards, with a Command not to ſtir from him, till he ſaw him clear of *France*.

This was too ſevere an Order not to make a noiſe in the City. All People knew immediately that Prince *Charles* was arriv'd at *Paris*, and that his Arrival was no ſooner known at Court, but that he had receiv'd a Command to be gone again.

Thereupon, Madam, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, who knew nothing of all this, till every body knew it, beſought the King to grant him one days time, that ſhe might ſee the Prince her Nephew. To which the King return'd for Anſwer, That in reſpect to her, he would allow him two hours, during which time ſhe might ſee and Diſcourſe with him as much as ſhe pleas'd: and as to the Complaints, that ſhe made him, that the Duke of *Lorrain* would not admit the Prince into his Territories for fear of provoking his Majeſty, he replied, That that was nothing to him; the Duke of *Lorrain* might admit him if he thought fit; for that he had never exacted any ſuch thing from him; and that if Prince *Charles* had been wiſe, he would have kept where he was.

The Prince, who was carefully inform'd of all theſe things, repair'd to the Palace of *Orleans*, with the Priviledg'd Gentleman of the Guards, where he Diſcours'd the Dutcheſs for ſome hours, and then taking Horſe, departed out of *Paris* the ſame day.

I

I cannot here forbear to obſerve how little Reſolution and Courage the Prince of *Lorrain* ſhew'd upon this Occaſion, though he were one of the moſt Reſolute and Daring Princes of his Time. The Kings Order had ſo terrified him, that he durſt not ſee Madamoiſelle *de Nemours*, though he moſt paſſionately lov'd her, and were Married to her. For in ſhort Duke *Francis* had duly and formally Wedded her in his Name above ſix Months before: and there was nothing more now to be ſaid againſt the Marriage, but only that it was not yet conſummated. However, it ſo happen'd, that when the Prince departed from the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, in order to his leaving *Paris*, he paſt by the Palace of *Nemours*. And in regard the Prince had not made choice of that way, but with a deſign to call in, though it were but for a moment, he ask'd the Privileg'd Gentleman of the Guards that attended him, whither he had any Order to hinder him. The Gentleman anſwer'd, that in truth he had none; however he advis'd him to avoid ſeeing of Madamoiſelle *de Nemours*; for that beſides that he could not permit him to ſtay but a very little while, the Viſit would but augment the Kings diſpleaſure; and that therefore it was better for him to deny himſelf that Liberty, unleſs he intended to draw upon himſelf the utmoſt rigor of an offended Prince, whom it rather behov'd him to manage with diſcretion and prudence.

One would have thought that the Prince of *Lorrain* ſhould not have ſtood to argue the Point at that time, but that in contempt of all the Dangers that could befall him, and all the Tem-

peſts that could pour upon his Head, he ſhould have reſolv'd upon this Viſit, ſince there was nothing to hinder him; and he was juſt going twice to alight from his Horſe. Nevertheleſs, being ſtrook with a Panick Fear, he follow'd the Advice of his Keeper, and as if his Paſſion has been as Calm as it was Violent; or as if he had not been concern'd to viſit Mademoiſelle *de Nemours*, who was the only Perſon for whoſe ſake he ought to have undertaken his Journey, he left *Paris*, without ſeeing her.

All men were ſurpriz'd, that Prince *Charles* had given ſuch a mark of a faint Heart; and that he had not conſider'd, that beſides that the Viſit could do him no injury, in reſpect of the talk of the World, it was the only probable Means to reſettle his Affairs. For in regard he was really Married, the only thing without doubt on his ſide to be done, was to have conſummated the Marriage. Or if any reaſons of Modeſty and Niceneſs in Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* had oblig'd him to abſtain, however there would have been a ſtrong Preſumption that the thing was done. For beſides that, Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* knew very well, that ſhe was duly and lawfully Married; and beſides, that ſhe had a tender Affection for the Prince, Madam *de Nemours*, her Mother, ſo paſſionately deſir'd a Conſummation of the Marriage, whatever Croſſes of Fortune afterwards befel the Prince, that ſhe offer'd to bring the Princeſs her Daughter to him wherever he would be pleas'd to appoint, without conſidering the hazard which ſhe run of incurring the King's Diſpleaſure. In ſhort, the King having urg'd her ſeveral times to Mar-

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ry that Princeſs to the King of *Portugal*, ſhe utterly rejected the Propoſal, alledging, That her Daughter being effectually Married to the Prince of *Lorrain*, ſhe could not Marry her to another, how advantageous ſoever the Match might be that his Majeſty propos'd. In a word, the Affection which Madamoiſelle had for the Prince was ſo well known, that the Princeſs dying ſometime after he left *Paris*, all People believ'd, that ſhe dy'd for Grief, as not being able to ſupport her Affliction, that the King ſhould oppoſe the Conſummation of a Marriage which he had made himſelf, and which ſhe could never hope to ſee accompliſh'd after an Obſtruction of that Nature.

All People agree, That the Reaſons which oblig'd the King of *France* to give ſuch rigorous Orders in reference to the Duke of *Lorrain*, was the Apprehenſion which he had, that if the Prince ſhould ſtay too long in *Paris*, he would viſit the Princeſs ſo often, that ſhe would make ſuch Evidences appear, as would ſpeak aloud to all the World, that they were Married; and it was the King's Intereſt to break the Marriage: there being no other way for him to diſengage himſelf from the Promiſe he had made the Prince, upon his ſigning the Contract; by which he bound himſelf to acknowledge him the Sole Heir that was capable to Succeed to the Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, after the Death of *Charles* IV. which was a clear diſannulling of the *Donation* made of the ſame Dutchies by the Treaty of *Montmarre*.

But to return to the Prince of *Lorrain*, he had engag'd himſelf ſo imprudently in his Jour-

ney to *Paris*, that he had not half Money enough left to ſupply his Neceſſities; and Madam the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*, of whom he had deſir'd to borrow, was forc'd to acknowledge that ſhe was not in a Condition to furniſh him at preſent; in regard her Family was now no Richer than under the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Mazarine*. So that the Prince was conſtrain'd to accept of the Dutcheſſes good will, not daring to delay his Departure.

He was no ſooner out of *Paris*, but he poſted in all haſt to the Frontiers of *France*, taking thence the Road to *Luxemburgh*, where he made a ſhort ſtay, till he could find ſome body ſo charitable as to furniſh him with Money; and indeed he was very hard put to it to find a Creditor; but at length a Knight, who was altogether unknown to him, having Lent him Two hundred Crowns, he return'd to the Emperor, with a Deſign to apply himſelf wholly to his Service. For as for the Duke his Uncle, he ſaw well it would be to no purpoſe to ſollicit him to permit his Return to *Lorrain*; more eſpecially when he ſhould come to underſtand the ill Succeſs of his Voyage to *Paris*.

The Emperor received the Prince with infinite marks of his Affection; He teſtified his Sorrow for his being ſo ill entertain'd by the Duke his Uncle and the King of *France*, and promiſed him his Protection as he had done before.

Soon after his Arrival at the Court of *Vienna*, the War brake out in *Hungary* between the Emperor and the Turks. I ſhall not enter into the Particulars of that War, at what time the Grand Viſier

Viſier appear'd at the Head of a Formidable Army, and in the laſt Battel that was fought, left behind him Eight thouſand Men ſlain upon the Place, beſides thoſe that were ſwallowed up in the River of *Raab*.

Now in regard all Chriſtendom was concern'd in this War, all the Chriſtian Princes ſent their Forces to joyn with the Emperors; and *France* among the reſt furniſhed his Imperial Majeſty with a conſiderable Aſſiſtance of Men, that did him ſignal Service.

And then it was that the Prince of *Lorrain*, to whom the Emperor had already given an old Regiment of a Thouſand Horſe, perceiving there were in the French and other Troops, a great number of Young Gentlemen, who had undertaken a long Journey, to ſignalize their Courage in that War, found the Incitements of his Emulation ſo importunate, that he beſought his Imperial Majeſty, to let him try his Fortune the next Campagne. But becauſe of the great hazards he was to run, in regard the Ottoman Army was prodigiouſly numerous, beſides, that the Prince was not then above Twenty years of Age, the Emperor thought it not fit at that time to grant him his Requeſt. So that the Prince ſaw himſelf compell'd to abide at *Vienna*, while others were gaining Honour in the Field. However not being able to overrule himſelf, to give Obedience to the Emperor in thoſe Commands that ſeem'd to curb him in the Acquiſitions of Future Fame, he privately withdrew from the Court and got to the Army.

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The Turks had then beſieged the Fort of *Serini*; ſo that the Prince thought he ſhould be ſoon enough to joyn the Succour that was already ſent to relieve that Place. But the Fort being won much ſooner than was expected, he was fruſtrated of thoſe Hopes. Nevertheleſs, in regard his Mind gave him that he ſhould ſignalize himſelf in that Campagne, he met with an Opportunity wherein he behav'd himſelf after an extraordinary manner.

A Body of Seven or Eight thouſand Turks, of the moſt reſolute in the Grand Signior's Army, being Commanded by the Grand Viſier to croſs a River that ſeparated the Ottoman from the Chriſtians Camp, with a deſign to ſurprize them, ſo furiouſly aſſail'd the Right Wing of the Imperial Army, that they began to give ground, without making any conſiderable reſiſtance. Which caſt ſuch a terror among the Imperialiſts, that General *Montecuculi*, being at his Wits end to ſee ſo bad a Beginning of a Fight, was glad to bring on the Left Wing to renew the Combat. Among whom, the firſt that *Montecuculi* met, was the Prince of *Lorrain*. So that in regard he had no time to loſe, and that he could not make choice of what Men he pleas'd, he only told the Prince, that in the Unfortunate Conjuncture wherein he found himſelf, he was conſtrain'd to oppoſe his Regiment againſt the Fury of the Turks, till he could cauſe others to advance; only that which troubled him beyond Expreſſion was, to ſee the Danger to which of neceſſity he muſt expoſe himſelf to ſave the Honour of the Chriſtians. To which the Prince made

made as ſhort a reply, That he was overjoy'd to meet with an opportunity to venture his Life; that he was only to direct him where he ſhould Charge; and that he would infallibly Periſh, or repel the Enemy. Adding withal, That nothing griev'd him ſo much, as that he wanted Five hundred Men of his own Regiment, which were ſent to ſecure the Forragers; however they that follow'd him had ſo much Courage, that he made no doubt but they would give that day more than ordinary proofs of their Valour.

The General finding himſelf in a great ſtraight, and greatly encourag'd by the generous Proweſs of the youthful Prince, told him where he ſhould fall on. And with that, although the Turks were four to one, reſolved to Die or Vanquiſh, he broke in among the Turks with ſo much Vigour, and ſuch a Preſence of Mind, that the old Officers of his Regiment were amaz'd at ſuch a firſt Eſſay of Valour.

It would be a difficult thing to repreſent the Heat and Fury with which the Prince fought. For in regard he met with ſtout Reſiſtance in the ſecond Squadrons that reliev'd the former, he was conſtrain'd to charge the Enemy three or four times before he could make them give ground. And he muſt have given way at length, had not the Marquis of *Coligny*, General of the French Horſe, order'd the Count of *Fueillade* to advance with a conſiderable Reinforcement, which aſſur'd him an entire Victory. The Prince in this Encounter did not only perform the Duty of an Officer, but fought himſelf like a Common Souldier. He wreſted a Colours from the Hands

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of a Turk, who came with a Reſolution to have run him thorough with the Lance to which his Colours were faſten'd. And thoſe Colours, of which the Emperor made him a Preſent, were ſent to Duke *Francis*, who caus'd them to be hung up in the Chappel of the Burgundians near *Nanci*, with an Inſcription over them, giving an Accompt of the Battel, wherein the Turks had above Five thouſand Slain.

The Count *de Ligneville*, who was a Marſhal de Camp in the Army, never left P. *Charles* all the while: and in regard he was an Eye-witneſs of what paſs'd in that bloody Encounter, he wrote a Relation of it to the Duke of *Lorrain*, wherein he ſet forth in proper Language, that the Emperor in ſome meaſure was beholding to the Prince for ſaving his Army; in regard the daring Courage with which the Prince fought, had renew'd the Combat, from which the Left Wing had moſt ſhamefully flinch'd, and given time to the French, who were rang'd on the fartheſt ſide of the Left Wing to come to his Reſcue, and aſſiſt him to win a compleat Victory.

Some time before, the Emperor, who had ſome Reaſons to conclude the War with the Turks, had made Propoſals of Peace, which had been utterly rejected by them; but being beaten both in this, and the following Campagne, they found it their beſt way to accept them, and now made the Propoſals firſt themſelves, though the Grand Viſier had ſtill an Army of Forty thouſand Men in the Field.

The Peace being concluded, all the French, and a great part of the Germans were ſent home.

home. But among the reſt that the Emperor kept Standing, the Prince of *Lorrain*'s Regiment was one, for which he had always a great Value, after this Fight.

Now in regard that the Toils of the Campagne had been very tedious, and for that the Prince who was indefatigable, was deſirous to ſee his own Regiment ſettled in their Winter Quarters in *Sileſia*, where the Air is very bad in Summer, eſpecially for Strangers, he was no ſooner return'd to *Vienna*, but he fell Sick of the Small Pox, and a Malignant Fever ſo dangerous, that for a long while the Phyſitians deſpair'd of his Life. However being of a ſtrong Conſtitution, he was ſo well lookt after, that when he began to mend, he recover'd his Strength in a little time.

But the Joy which he had for the Recovery of his Health laſted not long; for no ſooner had he vanquiſh'd the Affliction of two threatning Diſtempers, but he had News that the Princeſs of *Nemours* was juſt about to Marry his Royal Highneſs of *Savoy*, the Father of the preſent Duke.

The King of *France*, for the Reaſons already mention'd, was ſo deeply concern'd, leaſt the Prince ſhould Conſummate the Marriage of the Princeſs of *Nemours*, that he made it his whole Buſineſs to break it quite off. Yet the Affection which the Princeſs had for the Prince of *Lorrain* was an obſtacle which he could never ſurmount, not thinking it good Policy to interpoſe his Royal Authority.

But Madam *de Nemours* being Dead, a ſuddain Alteration of the Face of Affairs enſu'd.

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For the King caus'd the young Princeſs to be put into a Nunnery, there to mourn for the Dutcheſs her Mother. During which time, the Nuns, who had the managing of her, found out ſo many ways to turn and wind her, and ſo forcibly inſinuated into her Mind, that the Prince of *Lorrain* withall his Noble Qualities, had but a very ſmall Fortune, that ſhe ſuffer'd her ſelf at laſt to be overcome, and promis'd to conform her ſelf to the Kings Pleaſure.

But it was ſo lately before, that the Duke of *Savoy* had loſt Madamoiſelle *de Valois* his firſt Wife, Daughter of *Gaſton de France*, Duke of *Orleance*, that he ſcrupl'd to Marry Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* ſo ſoon. But they told him thoſe were Delicacies below the Thoughts of Princes. Neither indeed was that the greateſt difficulty; for in regard that Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* was Marry'd to the Prince of *Lorrain*, his Royal Highneſs could not Eſpouſe her, till he had a Diſpenſation from *Rome*; and the Pope who was *Alexander* the VII. refus'd it.

On the other ſide, the King by his publick Miniſter ſet forth to the Pope, That the Marriage not being Conſummated, the Princeſs might be Lawfully diſcharg'd. In oppoſition to which, the Prince of *Lorrain* made other Remonſtrances in his own behalf. And thus both ſides urg'd the beſt and moſt potent Reaſons that their ſeveral Caſuiſts ſuggeſted to them. So that *Alexander*, as great a Politician as he was, knew not well what to do. He ſaw that which ſide ſoever he took, he could never content both Parties. Nevertheleſs, in regard he could not diſpence with taking Cognizance of the Affair,

Affair, he referr'd it to his Nuncio in *France*, and the Archbiſhop of *Paris*. But the Prince of *Lorrain*, jealous of the Partiality of thoſe Commiſſioners, demanded that the Proceſs might be determin'd at *Rome*, and that the Pope might be Judge himſelf.

The King was thoroughly perſwaded that the Suit, as knotty as it was, would be determin'd in his Favour. But fearing delays, and ſpinning out of time, to ſhorten the way, he caus'd a Petition to be preſented to the Pope by Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* her ſelf. The Princeſs therefore now abſolutely brought over to ſay whatever they pleas'd themſelves, proteſted that ſhe never heartily conſented to Marry the Prince of *Lorrain*; or if ſhe had declar'd ſhe had done it, it was by the overruling Violence of the Dutcheſs of *Nemours* her Mother. To which ſhe added, that on the other ſide it invincibly appear'd, that the Prince himſelf had never given but an imperfect Conſent; ſince he never ſent the Ratification of the Marriage till a long time after that Duke *Francis* his Father Eſpous'd her in his Sons Name: And that if all this were not ſufficient to ſhew, that the Prince was only ſo earneſt at that time to conclude the Marriage, out of a Politick End, and not out of any real Affection, there needed no more for her to alledge, than that affrontive Act of the Prince, who having been at *Paris* would not vouchſafe to ſee her. And Laſtly, that it was a thing notoriouſly known that the Prince had no Inclination for her, as ſhe never had any Inclination for him; and therefore that ſhe humbly beſought his Holineſs, in whoſe Power it only was,

was to diſcharge her, that he would vouchſafe to hearken to her Remonſtrance.

Now at the ſame time that this Petition was preſented, the Pope was altogether Embroyl'd with the King of *France*, by reaſon of the affront which had been offer'd at *Rome* to the Duke of *Crequi*, his extraordinary Ambaſſador. For it happen'd, that the *Corſi*, who are a ſort of Souldiers appointed to Guard the City, and to ſecure the *Sbirri* in the Executions of Juſtice, having a quarrel with two or three French Men of the Ambaſſadors Train, the French Men defended themſelves ſo well, that they wounded ſome of their Antagoniſts. Thereupon the *Corſi*, who had received the firſt Abuſe, minding nothing but to Revenge themſelves, gave the alarum to all their Companies, conſiſting of about Four Hunderd Men; and no ſooner were they got together, but away they march'd toward the Ambaſſadors Palace, with Colours flying, and Drums beating, as if it had been in open War. The Duke of *Crequi* hearing the noiſe which the *Corſi* made, came forth into a Balcony, thinking to pacifie 'em; but they made him no other Anſwer, than in the Language of Muſquets and Carbines; and meeting with his Dutcheſs in the Street, they ſhot ſeveral Bullets through the Coach, and kill'd a Page that was going by the Coach with his Hand upon the Boot: and ſeveral other Violences of this Nature they committed, too long to repeat. So that the Duke of *Crequi* not finding himſelf ſafe at *Rome*, privately withdrew from the City, together with his Dutcheſs, and ſome of his Domeſtick Servants, and retir'd to *Florence*.

The

The King of *France* was ſo enrag'd at the Affront he had receiv'd in the Perſon of his Ambaſſador, that he declared War at the ſame time againſt the Pope; ſent Forces into *Italy*, and ſeized upon *Avignon*.

Alexander VII. who fear'd the Conſequences of the War, gave the King to underſtand, that he had no Hand in the Action of the *Corſi*, that he was ready to puniſh the Guilty, and to give Satisfaction to his Ambaſſador, provided he would recal his Souldiers, and reſtore the Territories of which he had taken Poſſeſſion. But the King would hear of no Accommodation, unleſs upon his own Terms.

The Pope us'd all his Endeavours to draw in the Catholick Princes to make a League with him. But all refuſing, he was compell'd to ſubmit to whatever the King pleas'd, and ſo Conſented to an Accommodation, that will remain an Eternal Monument of Infamy to the See of *Rome*. For he was not only forc'd to diſown in a moſt ſhameful manner what the *Corſi* had done, but his Brother Don *Maria*, was compell'd to depart *Rome*. The *Corſi* were perpetually baniſh'd the Town; from whence the Imperial Cardinal, Governor of *Rome*, was alſo exil'd, forc'd to acknowledge himſelf Guilty, and to go and ſubmit himſelf to the King's Pleaſure; and there was a Pyramid alſo rais'd over againſt the Court of Guard, where the *Corſi* watch'd, upon which was engrav'd in Letters of Gold, an Inſcription, giving an account of the Satisfaction which the King had demanded, and to which the Pope had ſubmitted.

How ignominious ſoever this Accommodation were for the Pope, he was ſo well contented, that the King of *France* did not come to burn him in *Rome*, as he had threatn'd, that he had no Mind to embroil himſelf with him any more. The danger he had ſcap'd was too great for him to venture any more of thoſe Hazards; and therefore he thought it his Duty to let *France* know how ready he was to eſpouſe her Intereſts. So that he had no ſooner read Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* Petition, but he gave the Princeſs liberty to Marry with his Royal Highneſs of *Savoy*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was importun'd to ſend to *Rome*, before Madamoiſelle *de Nemours* arriv'd in *Piemont*; to Remonſtrate to the Pope, that he could not grant the Diſpenſation he had given, before he had imparted the Princeſſes Petition to his Nephew; but the Duke would do nothing in it. Only he conſented that Duke *Francis* might ſend one of his Gentlemen, which ſignifi'd as little. For he was no ſooner arriv'd at *Rome*, but he heard the Marriage was Conſummated. So that all the Satisfaction he receiv'd from the Pope was only this, That he was ſorry he had not been ſooner inform'd of his Reaſons; but the Buſineſs was done, and there was no Remedy.

Now in regard that the Emperor was at Peace, as well with all the Princes of *Europe*, as with the Turk, the Prince of *Lorrain* was conſtrain'd to live a vacant Life for ſome years at *Vienna*, while the Count of *Vaudemont*, and the Prince of *Liſlebonne* had an opportunity to ſignalize their Valour every day, in the War between

between the Duke of *Lorrain* and the Elector *Palatine*, which lasted till the year 1666. But he endeavour'd to make the best of that occasion to set his Affairs in Order, or to raise his Fortunes so as to repair the loss of his Territories of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, in case that *Charles* the IV. should continue his Resolutions to cross him, or that he were powerful enough to oppose the King of *France*.

So soon therefore as the Marriage of Madamoiselle *de Nemours* to the Duke of *Savoy* was known at *Vienna*, all People thought that Prince *Charles* would have Courted the Emperors Sister, who was a Lady of a great Beauty. This was the Princess *Eleanora Maria*. Withall, they believ'd, that the Emperor would have been glad of the Match, the Alliance not being to be Contemn'd, in regaed of the great Advantages it would produce against *France*, if ever the Prince came to be Master of *Lorrain*. But it did not appear that the Prince was any thing forward to win the Affections of that Princess. He was so disheartned by the former ill Successes of his first Amours: And besides he was so taken up with the care of his own Affairs, and the raising his Fortune, that he never took notice that the Princess *Eleanora* was so charming as she was. And therefore, in regard there was nothing which he thought could more conduce to the Re-establishment of his Affairs, than to fix himself more and more in the Emperors Favour, he directed his Addresses to the * Empress Dowager, whom he Courted with an extraordinary

*This was Eleanor de Gonzaga, *Daughter of* Charles *Duke of* Mantoua, *the Third Wife of* Ferdinand III. *and Mother of the Princess* Eleonora Maria.

Aſſiduity; in regard that Princeſs had an unexpreſſible Aſcendant over the Emperor her Son.

Much about this time * died *Anne* of *Auſtria*, the Mother of *Lewis* XIV. which was a great loſs to the Prince, for that ſhe had always a great kindneſs for him.

* *She died at the* Louvre *in* Paris, *Jun.* 20. 1666. *in the* 64*th year of her Age: And becauſe ſhe was the Daughter of a King, the Siſter, Wife and Mother of a King, this Epitaph was put upon her Tomb,*

Et Soror, & Conjux, & Mater, Nataque Regnum,
Nulla unquam tanto Sanguine digna fuit.

Of Crowned Heads to Europe ſo well known,
Wife, Siſter, Mother, Daughter met in one,
Is what to Woman ne'er was yet allow'd,
To be thought Worthy ſo much Royal Blood.

As for the Duke of *Lorrain*, *Charles* IV. of whom we may ſay, that his Life was a perpetual warfare, after the Peace concluded between him and the Elector *Palatine*, he was forc'd to take up Arms again againſt the ſame Elector. But *France*, having at that time Sign'd the Peace concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*, in regard ſhe had no longer Wars with *Spain*, and had Disbanded good part of her Forces, ſhe was willing the Duke ſhould follow her Example.

On the other ſide the Duke of *Lorrain* having Intelligence every day, that the Elector *Palatine* drew his Forces together, and had certainly ſome deſign upon his Frontiers, he let the King know the danger he was in if he had not an Army on Foot. But the King making Solemn Proteſtations, and having likewiſe given him

him his Royal Word, that the Elector had no Thoughts of moleſting him, he diſmiſs'd his Army, and diſpers'd his Men after ſuch a manner, that it was not eaſie for him to draw them together again, if neceſſity requir'd it.

But the Intelligence given the Duke of *Lorrain*, that the *Palatine* Elector had ſome deſign upon him, prov'd too true. For he had no ſooner diſmiſs'd his Army, but he underſtood that the Elector had beſieged and taken the Caſtles of *Landſtoaille* and *Honde*, and made his Priſoners the Commander of the Prince of *Vaudemont*'s Regiment, and ſeveral other Officers, who confiding in the Kings Aſſurance, that the Elector would not ſtir, were altogether unprovided to defend themſelves.

The Duke had no ſooner receiv'd the News, but he rally'd a good part of his Men, and put them under the Command of the Prince of *Liſlebonne*, withal giving the Count of *Vaudemont* orders to accompany him with his Regiment of Horſe.

Now though the *Lorrain* Army were nothing near ſo numerous as that of the Electors, yet they enter'd the *Palatinate*; and after ſeveral Skirmiſhes, the Princes of *Liſlebonne* and *Vaudemont* coming to encamp near the Enemy, a Battel was fought, wherein one part of the Electors Army was cut in pieces, and the other utterly routed.

But as entire a Victory as it was, the Duke of *Lorrain* made no Advantage of it. For the Elector after ſuch an unexpected Misfortune, fearing the loſs of his Country, put himſelf under the Protection of *France*; and by his Reſi-

dent at *Paris*, desir'd the King to interpose his Authority and Power for the concluding a War which he was no longer able to maintain. Upon which the King, who waited only for Pretences to bring down the Duke of *Lorrain*; and wisht besides that the Duke would delay to obey his Commands, that he might have an occasion to declare War against him, and seize upon his Territories, sent him Word, That he should dismiss his Army forthwith; upon pretence that his Army gave him cause of Jealousie; and therefore letting him understand, that he must absolutely resolve to lay down his Arms, according to the general Treaty of Peace, which gave him Power only to retain some Companies of his Guards, and his light Horsemen, but not to have standing Armies. Promising however to protect him against the Elector, in case he did not dismiss his Forces, or attempted any thing against him.

The Duke, who stomach'd the King of *France*'s Controul, answer'd him first haughtily enough, That the King of *France* was not his Master; That he had only a small Army to defend himself against the Attempts of an open Enemy; and that if the King went about to constrain him, he made no doubt but there were Princes in *Europe* that would Infallibly stand by him. But the Kings Messenger having given him to understand, that Marshal *Crequi* was upon the Frontiers of his Territories, with Orders in case of refusal to advance with Ten Thousand Men, the Duke was so terrifi'd with that same dreadful Menace, that he thought it his best way to dismiss his Men.

And

And having taken this Reſolution, he began to put it in execution. But whither it were that he did not proceed to the King of *France*'s Liking, or that Marſhal *Crequi*, who was ſent into *Lorrain* with ſome other Commiſſioners to ſee the Dukes Army disbanded, were troubl'd to ſee the War ſo ſoon at an end, and ſtarted Suſpicions on purpoſe, the Cities of *Pent a Mouſſon*, *St. Michael*, and ſome others were ſurpriz'd, at the ſame time that the Prince of *Vaudemont* was about to enter into thoſe Places, to meet Marſhal *Crequi* on the Dukes behalf, and perfect what remain'd to be done for the Kings full Satisfaction. True it is, that the Duke having made his Complaint of the Violences committed by the Marſhal, the King to ſhew him, that he had no deſign but for the publick Tranquility, and not to invade the Dukes Territories, recall'd his Gariſons out of thoſe Places which the Marſhal had taken, and all his other Forces out of *Lorrain*. So that *Lorrain* began to enjoy that Peace which it had not enjoy'd for above Five and thirty years before. But this Repoſe laſted ſo ſmall a while, that it could hardly be perceiv'd.

While things thus paſs'd in *Lorrain*, the Troubles in *Hungary* brake out again. There was firſt a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of the Emperor, which would have prov'd fatal to Prince *Charles*, had the Conſpirators ſucceeded in their Deſign. I ſhall not here repeat the Original of thoſe Troubles, becauſe it is a Thing ſo well known, I ſhall only tell ye, that Count *Serini*, who till then had adher'd to the Emperors Intereſts, ſecretly ſtrook in with the Male-Con-

tents, as did alſo Count *Nadaſh* ſome time after; upon the ſcore of a Palatine Employment, which the Emperor had denied him.

Theſe two Counts, blinded by their Fury, and believing it not enough to take up Arms againſt the Emperor, laid a deſign to take away his Life; and the more eaſie to bring their Endeavours about, they ſo well diſſembl'd their Reſentment, that no body perceiv'd that they kept the leaſt Intelligence with the Male-Contents.

Count *Serini*, more eſpecially was ſo little ſuſpected by his Imperial Majeſty, that he had entruſted him to take care of fortifying the Frontier Towns. And at this time it was, that feigning to be wholly taken up in forwarding the Work committed to his Care, both he and *Nadiſh* jointly reſolv'd to attempt the Emperor's Life, who was preparing to meet the Empreſs his Wife, that was expected out of * *Spain*. To this end, they had contriv'd to lay Five hundred Men, in a certain place, through which the Emperor was to ride Poſt, accompanied only with the Grand Maſter of his Houſe, and ten or a dozen Gentlemen; and the Commander of thoſe Troops had himſelf engag'd to ſtab the Emperor. But in regard it was a difficult thing to ſucceed in ſo horrid a Deſign, Count *Nadiſh* had tried an infinite number of ways which ſtill prov'd ineffectual. But at length having

* *The 25th of* April 1666, Leopold *Married* Margaret Maria Thereſe, *Daughter of* Philip IV. *King of* Spain. *His ſecond Wife was* Claudia Felicitie *of* Auſtria, *Dutcheſs of* Inſpruch, *in the year* 1673. *And at the end of the ſame year he Married a third time with the Princeſs Palatine of* Neuburgh, Elianora Maria Thereſe, *Daughter of the Elector Palatine, lately deceas'd.*

having corrupted a Carpenter that wrought in a new Apartment which the Emperor was making in his Palace for the Empreſs Dowager, the Carpenter ſet Fire to the Palace. In the mean time, though the Emperor were upon his Journey, they that were poſted to ſeize upon his Perſon or aſſaſſinate him, had not the Courage to execute their Barbarous Orders. However *Nadaſh* was nothing diſheartned at this; but believing that Poyſon would be more ſucceſsful; ſome time after he invited the Emperor and the Empreſs, the Imperial Princeſſes, and the Prince of *Lorrain*, to ſee ſome Fiſhing-Sport at *Pattendorff*, which was a Seat of his own. There he Feaſted them Magnificently, and it was none of his fault that the Poyſon'd-Plate that was prepar'd for him did not come to his ſhare. But the Counteſs his Wife, apprehending his Deſign, caus'd the Emperor to be ſerv'd with a Plate reſembling the t'other, which broke the Counts Meaſures, and ſav'd the Lives of the Emperor, and all the Imperial Gueſts. Moſt of theſe things happen'd in the Years 1668, and 1669. And then it was that the Duke of *Lorrain* Married the Prince of *Vaudemont* to the Princeſs *d'Elboeuf*, *Anne Eliſabeth* of *Lorrain*, a Princeſs of great Wit and Incomparable Beauty.

About the ſame time *Caſimer* V. had reſign'd his Crown, to ſpend the Remainder of his Days in Eaſe and Retirement. Now in regard the Kingdom of *Poland* is Elective, the *Polonians* to remove all Occaſion of Jealouſie and Civil War, from the Grandees of the Kingdom, who might have any Claim to the Royalty, have

have all along accuſtomed themſelves to make Choice of Foreign Princes.

The Duke of * *Newburgh*, and the Prince of *Conde*, were the firſt that ſtood Competitors for the Election, and had each of them a conſiderable Party in it. But the Prince of *Lorrain*, who had the ſame Deſign, put the Emperor upon appearing in his behalf; and then it was that he found that the Empreſs Dowager was abſolutely for carrying on his Intereſts; ſince there was nothing which ſhe left undone to procure him the Upper-hand of his Competitors, it being both her's and the Emperor's Deſign to Marry him with the Princeſs *Eleanora Maria*.

* *The Elector Palatine laſt deceas'd, Philip William, who died at Vienna, Septemb. 2. 1690, in the Seventy fifth year of his Age.*

In the mean time, becauſe the Buſineſs requir'd a vaſt Expence, (for theſe ſorts of Elections are not to be canvaſs'd without ſtore of Money) and for that the Prince had only a Penſion, which the Emperor and Empreſs Dowager allow'd him, the Duke of *Lorrain* told Duke *Francis*, that he would furniſh the Prince with Money neceſſary for ſuch an Undertaking, provided he would Sign the Contract of Marriage between the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and the Princeſs *d'Elboeuf*, and cauſe Prince *Charles* to Sign it alſo.

The Marriage of that Prince had been celebrated with ſo much Pomp and Magnificence of Ceremonies, that Duke *Francis* made no queſtion but that it was the Dukes Intention to ſettle the Succeſſion upon him, to the prejudice of the Prince, his Son. The Nuptials were ſolemniz'd

lemniz'd at *Bar*; after which the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and the Princeſs, being conducted to *Nanci*, made their Entry with no leſs Splendour, then if the Duke had been Married himſelf. Never did the Duke of *Lorrain* expreſs ſo much outward Joy, as he did upon that Occaſion. Beſides the extraordinary Civilities which he paid to the new Bride, he would have the Princeſs of *Liſlebone* to yield her the Precedence, though ſhe were Niece to the Prince her Huſband. And as for what he did for the Prince his Son, he made over to him in Soveraignty a conſiderable part of his Territories.

Theſe Conſiderations made Duke *Francis* always refuſe to Sign the Marriage of the Prince of *Vaudemont*.

But the Aſſiſtance which the Duke of *Lorrain* promis'd the Prince, and which he gave him effectually, to advance him to the Crown of *Poland*, over-ruled Duke *Francis* and the Prince to Sign not only the Marriage, but alſo a particular Treaty, by vertue of which Prince *Vaudemont* enter'd at the ſame time into Poſſeſſion of the Principal Places that were aſſign'd him.

But notwithſtanding all the Methods which the Emperor had taken, and the large Sums which the Duke of *Lorrain* had contributed toward the Advancement of his Nephew, it was impoſſible for the Prince to bring his Deſires to paſs. For in regard the Duke of *Newburgh* and the Prince of *Condè* had each of them their Faction in the Kingdom as well as he, the Polanders fearing that neither of the Rivals would give way to him that was Elected, unleſs conſtrain'd by Force of Arms, as they had openly and

and ſeverally given out; they caſt their Eyes upon a Prince of their own Nation, to avoid a Civil War, and made choice of *Michael Korobat Wieſnowisky*, who was Crown'd *Sept.* 29. 1669.

The Grief which Prince *Charles* conceiv'd for miſſing the Election in *Poland*, was attended by another Misfortune which he endur'd with no leſs trouble of Mind. And that was the Death of Duke *Francis* his Father, that happen'd *Jan.* 27. 1679. and which was as it were an ill Omen of the Conſummation of thoſe Misfortunes that were to befall the Houſe. For the ſame year the K. of *France* drove *Charles* IV. quite out of his Dominions, and conſtrain'd him to ſeek out for Sanctuary among Foreign Princes, which he had much ado to find. 'Tis true, that it may well be ſaid, the Duke drew this laſt Calamity upon himſelf. For not being able ſo to govern himſelf, as to comply with *France*, he furniſhed *Lewis* XIV. with ſo many Pretences, that he could not believe there was any Prince in *Europe* would blame him, for deſpoiling the Duke of all his Dominions. I muſt confeſs, 'twas always the Dukes unhappineſs to be oblig'd to receive Laws from *France*, notwithſtanding his uſual vaunting, that being a Soveraign, he had no dependance upon any but God and his Sword. But in regard, that as his Affairs ſtood, the King of *France* could humble him upon all occaſions, it had been but Prudence to have comply'd with the Time, and to have diſſembled with a Prince that was ſo formidable to him. Nevertheleſs, as if he had had a ſufficient Power to withſtand all his Enterprizes, he took ſo little care

to

to manage him, that he rather might be ſaid to make it his Buſineſs to provoke him, and furniſh him with Opportunities to ſeize upon his Country.

And therefore it was, that out of a deſire to have an Army on foot, he levy'd Men upon the firſt occaſion that preſented it ſelf, quite contrary to his own Intereſts. To which purpoſe the Troubles of *Hungary* furniſh'd him with one occaſion, which he reſolv'd not to let ſlip, though he plainly ſaw that it was directly contrary to the King of *France*'s Capitulation, by which he was bound not to levy any Forces, under pretence of giving *France* an occaſion of Suſpition. But in regard he cover'd his Deſign with a pretence of ſending Aſſiſtance to the Emperor, he made ſeveral Levies, and to ſhew that his only Aim was to aid his Imperial Majeſty, he ſent the Prince of *Vaudemont* to *Vienna* with Six thouſand Men.

By that time the Prince of *Vaudemont* arriv'd at the Imperial Court, the Chief Heads of the Conſpiracy were ſeiz'd upon; and becauſe the Emperor ſtood in no need of Foreign Aid, in regard the Principal Cities which had revolted, had ſubmitted and ſought for Pardon, and for that the Turk was quiet, he return'd the ſame Thanks to the Duke of *Lorrain*, which he had done to other Princes who had offer'd him their Aſſiſtance. So that the Prince of *Vaudemont* was oblig'd to return to the Duke with all his Men, after he had us'd all his Endeavours to perſwade Prince *Charles* that he might accompany him into *Hungary*, whither he was going to be General of the Horſe; a Command

mand which the Emperor had conferr'd upon him.

Toward the latter end of the Year 1668. there was a League made between *England*, *Sweden* and *Holland*; which was call'd the *Triple League*; the Hollanders being desirous by means of that League to stop the Progress of the French Conquests in the Low-Countries, which alarum'd all *Europe*, but chiefly the *United Provinces*.

Thereupon, while the Prince of *Vaudemont* was at *Vienna*, the Duke of *Lorrain* had sent one of the Masters of his Requests into *Holland*; which made all People, and *France* particularly, conjecture, that the Duke had a design of entring into the Triple Alliance: and of this she made her Complaint. But that which absolutely spoiled all, was this, that the King having by virtue of his own Authority, settled Courts of Audience in all the Frontiers of *Lorrain*, and even in *Lorrain* it self, upon occasion of a Squabble that happen'd between the Duke, and the King's Superintendant in the Country of *Messin*, the Duke order'd the Posts to be taken down, upon which were erected the Arms of *France*: and in regard the Duke's Commands were but too punctually obey'd, the King of *France*, who desir'd no more than a Pretence of this Nature, was so highly incens'd, that from that very moment, he resolv'd not only to seize upon the Duke's Estates, but upon his Person also.

The King had a considerable Force already upon the Frontiers of *Champagne* and the Country of *Messin*; which he made a show of Quartering

tering there to employ them againſt *Holland*. And with theſe Men it was that he reſolv'd to attempt the Surprizal of *Nanci*: and the Marquis of *Fueillade* was order'd to put that Enterprize in Execution. Who being enjoyn'd to take all the Care imaginable not to fail of his Blow, poſted himſelf one Night with ſome Horſe and Dragoons, in a Wood that lyes within a quarter of a League of the City; believing he might enter the Town the next Morning by Break of Day, before the Duke was up. But in ſhort, the Duke of *Lorrain* eſcap'd this ſurprize.

However the Marquis, who knew nothing that the Duke was inform'd of his Deſign, immediately ſeiz'd upon the Gates of the Palace, which he broke open with Axes and Hatchets; at what time the Princeſſes of *Vaudemont* and *Liſſebon* ſhew'd themſelves from a Balcony, and endeavour'd to put a ſtop to ſo much Violence. But the Marquis made his way thorough, and entring the Palace like a Madman, after he had romag'd all the Appartments, was ſo enrag'd that he had miſs'd of his Prey, that he Stabl'd all the Horſes of his Cavalry in the Rooms of State.

Soon after Marſhal *Crequi* enter'd *Lorrain* with a conſiderable Body of an Army, where he committed unheard of Hoſtilities; not ſparing the meaneſt Houſes of Pleaſure, which were either Burnt or Plunder'd. He was no ſooner arriv'd at *Nanci*, but he caus'd the Duke's Palace to be Plunder.d, and carried away all the Moveables, all the Papers, and all the Arms which he found there to *Metz*. He found lit-

tle

tle or no Trouble in making himſelf Maſter of the ſmall Places, which he caus'd to be immediately diſmantled: and as for *Chace*, *Eſpinale*, and ſome other Fortreſſes, which the Duke had furniſh'd with the choiceſt of his Men, the Marſhal no ſooner Beſieg'd 'em, but they ſurrender'd; thoſe Places not being ſtrong enough to withſtand an Army of Five and twenty Thouſand Men.

The Duke, who ſaw himſelf thus ſtript of all his Territories, yet knew not how to ſtop the Torrent, in regard that all Men were afraid of embroyling themſelves with *France*, wrote to almoſt all the Princes of *Europe*, earneſtly ſolliciting them, to perſwade the King to reſtore him his Country. But he was always inexorable, as he has all along to this day continu'd, though he Proteſted in a Letter, that he wrote at the ſame time to the Dyet of *Ratisbonne*, *That he never had any Intention to advantage himſelf by the Spoils of the Duke of* Lorrain. For though he would ſometimes conſent to reſtore the Duke or Prince *Charles*, yet it was always under ſuch ſevere Conditions, that both the one and the other choſe rather to live depriv'd of their Dominions, than to purchaſe 'em at that Rate.

Prince *Charles* was aſtoniſh'd, when he underſtood the deplorable Condition to which the Duke of *Lorrain* was reduc'd. But nothing griev'd him more, than his own want of Power to Revenge the Bloody Outrages which his Family had ſuffer'd; and the thought of that it was, which over-whelm'd him with Sorrow. Nevertheleſs, in regard it was a Misfortune

without

without Remedy, he endeavour'd to diſſemble his Deſpair, flattering himſelf, that if the Emperor had but once reduc'd the Male-Contents that ſo he ſhould be able to turn his Arms upon *France*, he might be in a Condition to repair his Loſſes; and make *Lewis* repent of his having not only expell'd a Soveraign Prince out of his Dominions, but of having put upon him Indignities no leſs Infamous than if he had been an Uſurper, or the worſt of Men.

With theſe Hopes it was that the Duke of *Lorrain* fed himſelf, not having any other better better courſe to help him in that Conjuncture of his Affairs. And it is moſt certain that he would have reveng'd himſelf, had the Troubles of *Hungary* been once but thoroughly lay'd. For it was the Deſign of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to oppoſe the Progreſs of *France*, that for a long time before, was become ſuſpected by all her Neighbours.

And every thing ſeem'd well diſpos'd to ſecond the Wiſhes of his Imperial Majeſty. For he had diſcover'd the Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon. Prince *Francis Ragotski*, who was one of the Chief of the Male-Contents was return'd to his Obedience, and had Disbanded his Forces: and all the Troubles were look'd upon at an end. But in regard it was the Emperor's Fate, that he muſt enter into a War, which after it had brought him almoſt within a hairs breadth of Ruin, was to advance him again to be one of the moſt Glorious Princes of his Age, he took ſo little care to comply with the Hungarians, that they brake forth again into Rebellion; and the latter Troubles of that Kingdom

were an hundred times more pernicious than the Former. We ſhall here give ye a ſhort Accompt of the Original of theſe Troubles, that have caus'd the Effuſion of ſo much Blood for Twenty years together, and the Calling in of the Ottoman Aſſiſtance at the laſt Extremity; and has been the only Occaſion of ſo many Calamities and Miſeries, which the greateſt Part of *Germany* ſtill bewails.

At what time the Emperor had laid his Deſign to reduce the Hungarian Male-Contents, after the Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy already mention'd, he ſent an Army into that Kingdom, which committed therein an infinite number of Hoſtilities. On the other ſide, the Hungarians, who had had no hand in the Conſpiracy, ſeeing the Troubles were wholly appeas'd upon Prince *Ragotski*'s laying down his Arms, believ'd that the Emperor would have drawn off his Forces that ruin'd all before 'em; but their Expectations were no way ſatisfied. Thereupon they made their Complaints that the Innocent were envelop'd among the Guilty; and that the Germans, never conſidering they were not in an Enemies Country, yet committed the ſame Diſorders they had done ſome Months before: but the Emperor would not liſten to any Complaints. On the other ſide, General *Spork*, being reinforc'd with a conſiderable Body ſent him from *Bohemia*, entred into the very Heart of the Country; his Infantry being Commanded by the Marquis of *Baden*, and the Cavalry by Prince *Charles*.

Upon this the Hungarians, who never expected to ſee an Army where no Enemy

Enemy made any Oppoſition, were in ſuch a Conſternation, that they reſolv'd to Arm themſelves againſt the Emperor: and this they did accordingly in all Parts, where they thought themſelves to be ſtrong enough.

But in regard the Imperial Army was very numerous, the Male-Contents were hard put to it. General *Spork* immediately ſeiz'd upon all the Paſſes to prevent their flight into Foreign Countries; and advancing to the Principal Places, with fifteen Regiments, to furniſh them with Gariſons, he no ſooner appear'd before thoſe Places, but they ſet open their Gates to him; ſo that there was only *Muran* that made any Reſiſtance. But the Prince of *Lorrain* coming before it, with a conſiderable Detachement of Horſe and Foot, and having preſently poſſeſſed himſelf of a Hill which commanded the Town, he intrench'd himſelf, and ſummon'd the Counteſs of *Weſſelini*, who was Miſtreſs of the Place, to Surrender; threatning to give no Quarter, if he took it by Storm. The Counteſs who was within the Town with a ſufficient Number of Male-Contents, that had betaken themſelves thither for Refuge, made a ſhew at firſt of holding out. But at length, conſidering that her reſiſtance would be in vain, ſince the Prince was Maſter of a Poſt ſo Advantageous, ſhe reſolv'd to Capitulate. So that all the ſtrong Holds being fill'd with Gariſons, General *Spork* and the Prince of *Lorrain* return'd to *Vienna*, to give an Accompt to the Emperor of their Expedition.

In the Year 1672. the King of *France* Declar'd War againſt the Low-Countries, and

within one Month made himſelf Maſter of Two and thirty Towns, that were all Places of good Defence. For thoſe Provinces at that time were divided into two or three Factions; and in regard that *France*, who made the beſt Advantage of every thing, fomented thoſe Diviſions underhand, it was no ſuch extraordinary thing to make ſuch conſiderable Conqueſts in ſo ſhort a time; beſides, that there was a great ſuſpition that Treachery aſſiſted his Succeſſes. However it were, the French Army no ſooner appear'd before a Place, but they found the Gates open, or at leaſt it was not long before they were open'd. So that the French who were in that Campagne, were wont to ſay, That they rather travell'd through thoſe Cities, than beſieg'd 'em; and that if they had not met with ſome Reſiſtance at *Nimeghen*, they ſhould not have known they had been at War. The King alſo who was preſent at all theſe ſafe Exploits, had a particular Eye upon *Amſterdam*, and he miſs'd but little of his Deſign. But the Inhabitants letting looſe their Sluces, rather choſe to ſeek their ſafety in a Deluge of Water that environ'd 'em, and to ſuffer all manner of Hardſhips, than to loſe their Liberty: which diſappointed the Meaſures of *France*.

Now in regard the Country lay under Water, the King finding it impoſſible for him to advance his Conqueſts any farther, return'd to *Paris*, leaving his Armies under the Conduct of Marſhal *Turenne*. At the ſame time alſo the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, alarum'd by theſe Victories of the *French*, and ſeeing that the King

had

had got Poſſeſſion of *Weſel*, and ſome other Towns that belong'd to him in particular, reſolv'd to take the Field, and ſtop ſo rapid a Progreſs; as alſo to oppoſe the Deſigns of the Elector of *Cologne*, and Biſhop of *Munſter*, who had both likewiſe Declar'd againſt *Holland*. Nevertheleſs, becauſe he found himſelf not ſtrong enough to drive the French out of his Dominions had they attempted to enter (for there was all the Probability in the World, that they had ſuch a Deſign) he had ſo ſucceſsfully manag'd a Negotiation at the Court of *Vienna*, that he had perſwaded the Emperor to joyn him with a Body of Fifteen thouſand Men, under the command of *Montecuculi*. So that the Elector found himſelf, toward the beginning of *October*, in a condition to Encamp above *Mayence*, between the *Mein* and the *Rhine*, with an Army of Thirty thouſand Men.

At the ſame time, the Duke of *Lorrain*, joyn'd the Elector with ſome Regiments which he had ſtill in *Burgundy*; and Prince *Charles*, who had refus'd ſome Propoſitions, which the King of *France* had made him, as not being for his Advantage, ſerv'd in the ſame Army, as General of the Horſe. But the Prince met with no opportunity to ſignalize himſelf; for beſides that *Montecuculi* had his Reaſons why he would not venture his Army, and for that he had to do with Marſhal *Turenne*, the Prince *de Lokowitz*, having delay'd the Execution of the Emperor's Orders, both this and the following Campagne paſs'd over without any conſiderable Action; which occaſion'd the Fall of that Miniſter.

Toward the end of the Year 1673. the King of *Poland*, who had Married the Emperor's Sister, the Princeſs *Eleanora-Maria*, died. Now in regard the Emperor had ſome thoughts of Marrying Prince *Charles* to that Princeſs, could he have obtain'd the Crown of *Poland*, reſolv'd to make up this Match, upon the deceaſe of King *Michael*, in regard that now the Prince had new hopes that he might aſcend the Throne of that Kingdom. For there was great Probability, that if he Married the Queen of *Poland*, the Polanders would ſooner Elect him to be their King than any other Foreign Prince; for that, beſides the Sollicitation of the Emperor, which could not but be of very great weight, as Affairs then ſtood, the Grandees of *Poland* had all along teſtify'd a very great Reſpect and Eſteem for the Queen.

They who aſpired to that Crown, at that time, were the Prince of *Lorrain*, the Prince of *Muſcovie*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *York*, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and the Eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Neuburgh*, who had likewiſe a deſign to Marry the Queen.

Toward the beginning of *May* 1674. The Grandees of *Poland*, who were concern'd in the Election of the King, met at *Warſaw*, the Place where uſually the Kings are Elected. There among the reſt, arriv'd the Grand Marſhal *Sobieski*, firſt of all, with a conſiderable number of Soldiers that were quarter'd in the Villages round about; none but his own Regiment being ſuffer'd to accompany him into the City

City when he made his Entry. Which after he had once made, the Ambaſſadors of Foreign Princes had their ſeveral Audiences. The Pope's Nuncio who was introduc'd firſt of all, made his Harangue in Latin, and recommended to the Electors the Choice of a Catholick King. The Emperor's Ambaſſador had his Audience the next day; who deſir'd the ſame thing, but withal deſir'd the Electors to caſt their Eyes upon a Prince who was devoted to the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to favour the Deſires of the Queen. The Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, who was but newly arriv'd, had a moſt magnificent Audience. That Prelate, who was a Perſon full of witty Craft, and dextrous Inſinuation, was ſent by the King of *France* with large Sums of Money to corrupt the Great Men of the Kingdom, or to offer Aſſiſtance to *Poland*, then at War with the Turks. He made an Eloquent Speech, wherein, after he had recommended to the Aſſembly the Election of a King that would be no Enemy to *France*, he told them plainly without any Circumlocutions, that the Prince of *Lorrain* was not fit for the Government of a Kingdom. The Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Neuburgh*, the Prince of *Lorrain*, and the reſt of the Princes, Competitors for that Crown, had every one their Audience in their Turns, and forgot nothing to incline the Ballance in favour of their Maſters. However all People thought that the Prince of *Lorrain* would have carried it from all the reſt of the Competitors; and the Prince too thought himſelf ſo ſure of it, that he went and lay near the Frontiers of the Kingdom, to give

the greater Courage to thoſe that were of his Party. In ſhort, there was all the likelihood imaginable that he would have been preferr'd in that Election. For beſides, that the *Lithuanians* had already declar'd in his Favour, he was ſupported by the Emperor and the Queen, who had a very conſiderable Party in the Kingdom. But the Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, who preſently ſaw which way the Byaſs of Affairs ran, and fear'd nothing more than the Election of Prince *Charles*, labour'd might and main to hinder him, and put the Duke of *Neuburgh* into Nomination; to which purpoſe he had already won the Biſhop of *Cracovia*, who preſided in the Aſſembly, inſtead of the Primate of *Poland*, who was then Sick. And in regard that the Biſhop of *Cracovia* had given the Nobility of the Kingdom to underſtand that it was far more for their Advantage to be protected by the King of *France* than by the Emperor, by reaſon of the vaſt Sums of Money which was flung among 'em with a laviſh Profuſion, he had ſhak'n 'em already in favour of *Neuburgh*. And indeed the Polanders were the rather inclin'd to hearken to the Biſhop, in regard they were ſomewhat angry with his Imperial Majeſty, for having preferr'd the Protection of the Hollanders before Theirs, notwithſtanding their ſtrict Alliance by the Marriage of the Queen his Siſter with the King deceas'd. Nevertheleſs, the *Lithuanians*, in reſpect to the Queen's Intereſts, perſiſted ſtill to chooſe Prince *Charles*: while the Polanders were divided between the Prince of *Neuburgh*, and a Prince of their own Country. Upon which the Biſhop of *Marſeilles* endeavour'd

deavour'd to make the beſt of this Diviſion. And ſeeing 'twas impoſſible to make them chooſe the Prince of *Neuburgh*, he inſinuated into the *Polanders*, on purpoſe to put by Prince *Charles* from the Crown, that they ought to exclude all the Forraign Princes, and that they could not do better than to caſt their Eyes upon the Grand Mareſchal *Sobieski*, who had ſo glorioufly ſignaliz'd himſelf at the Battel of *Choczin*, where the Turks had loſt above Fourteen Thouſand Men, with all their Artillery and Baggage.

Thus above Fifteen Days were ſpent in Conteſts, when at length they reſolv'd to determine this great Affair. Nevertheleſs, being willing to underſtand the Queens Sentiments before they came to a Concluſion, they ſent certain Biſhops to know her final Inclinations. To which the Queen made Anſwer, That ſhe was under the Protection of the States of the Kingdom, upon whom ſhe wholly rely'd: And that as for what concern'd the Election of a new King, ſhe hop'd that ſhe ſhould not be forſaken by her Friends; proteſting withal, that ſhe deſir'd no other King, nor no other Husband, than the Prince of *Lorrain*, who in the Emperor had deſign'd her. And when they deſired to know the laſt Reſolution of the *Lithuanians*, they preſently reply'd, That ſince the Crown was only demanded by the Ambaſſadors for the Princes of *Lorrain* and *Neuburgh*, the reſt were none of 'em to be thought of; and therefore they had fix'd their Reſolutions upon the Prince of *Lorrain*; adding withall, that they would leave the Aſſembly if their choice were deny'd. This Anſwer being carry'd

ry'd to the Grand Mareſchal and the French Ambaſſador, did not a little alarum the latter. But the Grand Mareſchal was ſo far from being concern'd, that with a Smiling Countenance he told ſome of the Lords that were with him, That if the *Lithuanians* left the Aſſembly, the *Polanders* would take Poſſeſſion of it.

Now in regard that the Grand Mareſchal was well aſſur'd, that they would exclude the Foreign Princes, and that the Affair would be determin'd in his Favour, he repair'd himſelf to the Aſſembly; where he was no ſooner come, but the Vaivod *Ruski* propos'd him, without ſo much as taking notice of any other of the Competitors; and that Propoſal being agreed to by almoſt all the Vaivods, he was Proclaim'd King the next day, being the 20th of *May* 1674.

Sobieski was no ſooner Elected, but the Queen ſent the Prince Intelligence of it. She let him know how extreamly it griev'd her, that ſhe had miſt in procuring his Election; that if he had not a Crown, it was none of her Fault: that it was ſufficient he was Worthy of one; that ſhe lookt upon her ſelf no leſs Unfortunate in his loſs than he could be: And that ſhe hop'd, that one day a more happy Deſtiny would befall both the one and the other. The Prince made Anſwer to the Perſon that deliver'd the Meſſage, That he was really Unfortunate, in regard that being diſappointed of a Crown, he ſaw himſelf depriv'd of his more pleaſing Expectations: That if he deſir'd to be advanc'd to the Throne of *Poland*, 'twas only that he might by that means aſpire to a Happineſs which he preferr'd before all the Empires of the World.

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Nevertheleſs, that he had this to leſſen his Deſpair, that ſhe had been pleas'd to ſhew him ſuch an extraordinary Affection in an Affair of ſo high a Concern. However, he could not forbear from breaking forth into a vehement Indignation againſt the Author of his Misfortune. He told the Gentleman, that it proceeded from the foul Practices of the King of *France*, and the ſubtle Artifices of his Publick Miniſter, who had fruſtrated his Deſign; yet, that perhaps he ſhould not be always ſo unhappy, but that one day he might be Reveng'd of a Prince, that ſeem'd only to be Born to trouble him and all the World beſide.

In ſhort, upon his departure from the Frontiers of *Poland*, where he lay, he return'd to *Vienna*, where at the very Moment of his arrival, he beſought the Emperor to permit him to rejoyn the Imperial Army in *Flanders*, under the Command of the Count *de Souches*. Nor did the Emperor, whom the Prince had incens'd againſt *France* after an extraordinary manner, think fit to detain him that Campagne, as he had purpos'd to do. So that leaving *Vienna* with all ſpeed imaginable, he came time enough to be at the Battel of *Seneff*, one of the moſt memorable that have happen'd in this Age. The deſire which the Prince had to ſignalize himſelf at ſuch a time, and to render himſelf formidable to *France*, caus'd him to expoſe himſelf equally to the meaneſt Souldier in the Army. The Signal of Battel was no ſooner given, but he threw himſelf into the thickeſt of his Enemies, with a contempt of danger not to be expreſt. And his preſence prov'd fatal to ſeveral

of

of the French. But as it was impoſſible that a Prince who expos'd himſelf ſo openly as he did, ſhould ſcape without a Wound, he receiv'd a Gaſh in the Head, which forc'd him to retire out of the Battel.

But how dangerous ſoever the Wound were, he was in a Condition to act again the next Campagne in *Germany*, where Marſhal *Turenne* Commanded the French Army. Againſt him the Emperor had oppos'd *Montecuculi*; who would not take charge of the Imperial Army the year before, becauſe he would not be Subſervient to the Duke of *Brandenburgh*. Now in regard that *Turenne* and *Montecuculi* were both Experienc'd Generals, that were ſhie one of another, they only watch'd one anothers Motions at firſt. *Montecuculi* paſs'd and repaſs'd the *Rhine* ſeveral times; making a ſhew as if he intended to ſit down before *Philipsburgh*, which bridl'd the *Palatinate*. Marſhal *Turenne* coaſted along the River on *Strasburgh* ſide, during the movements of the Confederate Army. But in regard he miſtruſted *Strasburgh*, though that City had enter'd into a Neutrality ſome time before, he reſolv'd himſelf to paſs the *Rhine* with his whole Army.

This was an attempt which the Confederates thought impoſſible, in regard their Army was more numerous than the French. In ſhort, Marſhal *Turenne* having laid a Bridge over the River againſt a certain place environ'd with a Wood and Winds, the Imperialiſts thought it was only a deſign to paſs over one part, ſince they could not ſee which way he could get his Carriages and Baggage to follow him. But in regard that *Turenne* had accuſtom'd his Soldiers to all ſorts of Labour, the

the obſtacle which the Imperialiſts believ'd invincible was ſoon remov'd. So that his Army having paſs'd the *Rhine*, he preſently made himſelf Maſter of *Wildſtat*, deſigning to tire out the Imperialiſts, who preſently march'd toward *Offenburgh*, *Montecuculi* fearing leaſt the French ſhould attempt that place. And indeed, the Imperial Army ſuffer'd great Hardſhips, in regard that they were depriv'd of their Communication with *Strasburgh*. Nor did the French ſuffer leſs for want of Victuals, but chiefly of Forage, which began to grow ſo ſcarce, that the Horſes had nothing for above Eight days but Leaves from the Trees.

In the mean time, becauſe the Bridge which Marſhal *Turenne* had laid over the *Rhine* extreamly annoy'd the Imperialiſts, and that it was of great importance to make themſelves Maſters of it; the Prince of *Lorrain* and Count *Caprara* undertook to effect it. To which purpoſe they reſolv'd to fall upon the French Army, one on the one ſide, and the other on the other ſide, while two other Detachments made a falſe Attack upon two other Poſts. Thereupon they march'd all Night, having each of them between Three and Four Thouſand Horſe and Dragoons. The Prince of *Lorrain* was to fall upon the Enemies Rear, and perform'd his Duty accordingly; but not being ſeconded by the other Detachements, who were to Attack the French Camp in ſeveral parts at the ſame time, as was concluded upon, he was forc'd to Retreat, becauſe he perceiv'd a great Body of the choiceſt of the French Troops advancing toward him. For Marſhal *Turenne* having lin'd all the Lanes through which the Prince was to paſs;

paſs; the Prince was conſtrain'd to clear his way before he could paſs any farther. However he made a ſhift to force two or three Poſts of the Enemies, and to kill about Four Hundred of their Men, and take ſeveral Priſoners of Note, among whom was *Traci*, Major General of the Infantry. He alſo brought away three Colours, and among the reſt the Standard of the Kings Dragoons. So that although the Prince could not make himſelf Maſter of the Bridge, as he deſign'd; yet the Honour which he won in that Conflict was very great, as the French and *Turenne* himſelf acknowledg'd, as well for the vigorous Attack, as the orderly and Soldier-like Retreat which he made.

Now the two Armies lying ſo near each other, there paſt not a day without ſome skirmiſhes, but they came not to a general Battel, though there were great ſcarcity of Victuals, as well in *Turenne's* as *Montecuculi's* Army; which one would have thought ſhould have forc'd the two Generals to have fought for their Bread. But being both unwilling to put it to a venture, unleſs they could have found their Advantages, which it was a hard matter to do, both Generals being ſo well acquainted with each others Conduct, they only contented themſelves with ſlight Skirmiſhes for fear of being too precipitate. Nevertheleſs, *Montecuculi* being no longer able to contend with thoſe Diſtreſſes under which his Army labour'd, made one motion, which caus'd Marſhal *Turenne* to believe he had a purpoſe to give him Battel. And therefore, as he was covetous of nothing more than of Honour, ſo he fought all opportunities

tunities to acquire it, though never any General had a more Illuſtrious, or more dilated Reputation. Deſirous therefore of Victory, he remov'd, without loſing time to a Hill, where he deſign'd to plant a Battery. But as he was giving directions to St. *Hilaire*, Lieutenant General of the Artillery, how to diſmount the Imperialiſts great Guns, he was ſhot with a Cannon Bullet; which caus'd a great Conſternation in the French Army, and forc'd them to repaſs the *Rhine*.

Montecuculi deſirous to make his Advantage of the Terrour which he judg'd the Enemy was in, reſolv'd upon a vigorous purſuit; and firſt he fell upon *Wildſtat*, and regain'd it. With that the Count *de Lorges*, who together with the Marquis *de Vaubrune* had taken upon them the Command of the Army, being inform'd that *Wildſtadt* was retaken, and that the Imperialiſts purſu'd with a deſign to Fight him, drew up the Army to the beſt Advantage he could; and preſently there began a moſt terrible Conflict, which laſted from Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon till Seven in the Evening, to the advantage of the Imperialiſts: For though the loſs was great on both ſides, Count *de Lorges* was conſtrain'd to give Ground. All Men however agree, that he made his Retreat like an experienc'd Captain; and that he did as much at ſuch a pinch, as *Turenne* himſelf could have done. For *Montecuculi* try'd all ways to have engag'd him a ſecond time. But ſeeing that it was in vain to continne the purſuit, by reaſon of the advantageous Poſts where the Count entrench'd himſelf, he ſate down before *Hagunau*; but

but was constrain'd in some few days after to raise the Siege, to meet the Prince of *Condé*, who Commanded the French Army, and was got as far as *Strasburgh*. At this Siege it was, that the Prince of *Lorrain* was wounded with a Musquet Shot, but so favourably, that it did him little or no harm.

Soon after *Turenne* was Slain, the Duke of *Lorrain* his Uncle died upon the 20th of *September*. A Prince, who in his Life time had undergone many Severities of adverse Fortune, and who after he had been in several dangerous Battels, died in a small Village near *Coblentz*, in the Seventy Second year of his Age. He was not so happy as to see himself restor'd to his Dominions. Nevertheless it may be said, that he died accompanied with Fame and Honour to his Grave. For he expir'd soon after the defeat of Marshal *Crequi* in a remarkable Battel, and after the taking of *Treves*, where Marshal *Crequi* was made a Prisoner of War, after he had obstinately refus'd to Surrender the place, which it was so impossible for him to keep, that most of the Officers were forc'd to tell him, That they did not intend to loose their own Lives to recover the Honour he had lost at the Battel of *Taverne*, and so made the Capitulation themselves without him.

THE

THE LIFE OF Charles V.

DUKE of Lorrain and Bar, And *Generaliſſimo* of all the Imperial Forces.

THE THIRD BOOK.

SO ſoon as the Prince of *Condé* was arriv'd near *Strasburgh* with his Army, *Montecuculi* march'd the Imperialiſts on the ſame ſide, ſo that both Generals were almoſt in view of each other. Never was the Prince of *Lorrain* ſo ſerviceable to the Imperial Army as at that time. For beſides that they were oblig'd to ſend out Detachements every

Hour, *Montecuculi* was resolv'd to give the Prince of *Condé* Battel, so soon as he found a favourable opportunity. Nevertheless, as necessary as he was in *Alsatia*, he no sooner understood the Death of his Uncle, by an Officer which the Prince of *Vaudemont* sent to him, but he repair'd in all hast to the small City of *Kymen*, seated in *Honsruck*, at the request of the said Prince, who came thither the Night before his Father Died, and Commanded the *Lorrainers* in his Fathers stead. Now in regard these two Princes liv'd in perfect Amity together, and that they were assisted by the Marquis of *Grana*, who was a Friend to both, they so order'd their particular Affairs, that both were highly Satisfi'd. After which Prince *Charles* took his leave, and carried the *Lorrainers* along with him into the Emperors Service.

Prince *Charles*, whom for the future I am to call *Charles* V. or the Duke of *Lorrain*, receiv'd from all parts the Compliments of Condolement and Congratulation, there being no Prince or State in *Europe* that did not acknowledge him for the Successor to *Charles* IV. and who did not Respect him as a Sovereign, and a Brother, except the King of *France*, who usurp'd his Dukedoms.

However, all People flatter'd themselves, that the King would be so far from refusing him his Titles, that he would restore to him his Territories. In a word, Madam *de Guise* having begg'd leave to write to the new Duke of *Lorrain*, and desiring withall to know what Title she should give him; the King made Answer, That as for her, she might give him what Titles she thought

thought fitting. Which preſently made many preſume, that he had an Inclination to reinveſt him in his Dutchies: So much the rather, becauſe, that when the Count of *Windiſgratz*, in the Emperors Name, Sollicited at *Paris* the Reſtoration of *Charles* IV. the King told him ſeveral times, That he had never ſeiz'd upon the Dukes Territories, but becauſe he could put no Confidence in him; but when they came to Deſcend to a Prince that would be more Faithful to him, he ſhould never make any ſcruple to reſtore them to him. But the King was far from any ſuch Intention; and the firſt Mark that he gave of it, was, that he would not Mourn for the Duke of *Lorrin* but in Black; as looking upon him to be no other than a Subject of his Crown, and not as a Sovereign Prince; for then he would have put on Purple, according to the Cuſtom of the Kings of *France*. But that was not all. It was about two years before, that the King of *Sweden* offer'd his Mediation of a Peace between the Empire, the Low Countries, and *France*. The City of *Coblentz* was alſo accepted for the place of Conference; and the Plenipotentiaries were already met; and the Emperor ſeem'd overjoy'd at the King of *Sweden*'s Mediation. But afterwards coming to conſider that he had Sign'd with *Holland*, *Spain*, and the beſt part of the Circles of the Empire, more eſpecially with the Proteſtants, this gave him ſo much hope of Re-eſtabliſhing the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that unwilling to looſe ſo favourable an opportunity, he made an Attempt, that ſeem'd in ſome Meaſure to be againſt the Law of Na-

tions, on purpoſe to break off the Mediation, and put the King of *France* out of all hopes of any Reconciliation, unleſs he reſolv'd to make a Reſtitution of all that he had Conquer'd from *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Lorrain*. The Attempt was to ſeize upon * Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh*, the Elector of *Cologne*'s Plenipotentiary: And this was Executed in *Cologne* it ſelf, in the view of all the reſt of the Plenipotentiaries, by the Orders of the Marquis of *Grana*, Governor of *Bon*, who after that caus'd ſome Wagons of the Ambaſſadors of *France*, wherein were Fifty Thouſand Crowns, to be ſeiz'd, and brought away from the ſame City. Upon which the Plenipotentiaries of the reſt of the Princes, not thinking themſelves ſafe in *Cologne* after two ſuch Actions as theſe, oblig'd the Magiſtrate to go and Demand Satisfaction of the Marquis, who had already ſecured Prince *William* in his Gariſon. But all the Magiſtrate could ſay was to no purpoſe: For the Marquis made Anſwer, That having done nothing but by the Emperors Order, which he produc'd in Writing, he could neither ſet the Prince at Liberty, nor reſtore the Money, without a new Order from his Imperial Majeſty. This ſo enrag'd the King of *France*, that he Commanded his Ambaſſadors to tell thoſe from the King of *Sweden*, that they had Order to return, and that he was reſolv'd to be Reveng'd by force of Arms for the Injury done to himſelf and the Elector of *Cologne*'s Plenipotentiary. Thus the French Ambaſſadors

* *Of whom mention has been already made in this Hiſtory, under the Name of the Count of* Furſtenberg. *This Family derives its Name from a City of* Germany *in* Suabia; *and they that are of this Family are Princes of the Empire.*

baſſadors departed; and then it was to no purpoſe for the reſt to ſtay any longer. But the Advantage which the King of *France* got by this Rupture, was this, that having over-perſwaded the King of *Sweden*, that the Confederates had no value for him; That in ſcorn of his Mediation they had ſeiz'd upon Prince *William*, and refus'd to releaſe him at his Requeſt, and that it was himſelf indeed that had received the Affront, by theſe Artifices he engag'd him to his Intereſt.

This Violence upon the Perſon of Prince *William*, and the Injury which the King of *France* had receiv'd in particular, made all men believe, that there would be no Peace in haſt in *Europe*, and that the King of *France* would never conſent to renew the Negotiation. Nevertheleſs, at the Requeſt of the King of *England*, whoſe Mediation was generally approv'd of by all the Princes that were intereſted in that War, ſince the Swedes had declar'd for *France*; and at the earneſt Sollicitation of the Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, who openly declar'd, that he preferr'd the Advantages of Peace before the Liberty of the Prince his Brother; the King was prevail'd upon to let the Reaſons of his Honour give way to thoſe of his Intereſt. And having accepted *Nimeghen* for the Place of Treaty, he ſent thither for his Plenipotentiaries the D. of *Vitry*, M. *Colbert*, and the Count *d'Avaux*.

Now in regard there was a Neceſſity for granting Paſsports on both ſides for the Ambaſſadors of the Princes concern'd, all *Germany* being up in Arms; and the King of *France* alſo granted a Paſsport for the Duke of *Lorrain*'s

Plenipotentiaries, wherein he call'd him Couſin, and barely Prince of *Lorrain*. Upon which the Duke refus'd the Paſsport, and compl.ain'd to the King of *England*, That the King of *France* had not given him his Titles of Brother and Duke of *Lorrain*. The King of *England* to remove this Obſtacle, propos'd to the Confederates that he might grant all the Paſsports himſelf, and to facilitate the Succeſs of this Expedient, he wrote to the Emperor, and caus'd a Memorial to be Preſented to the *States General*; wherein he ſet forth the Reaſons which had oblig'd him to propound this Expedient as he had done in his Letter to the Emperor. But his Imperial Majeſty made Anſwer that the Propoſal could not be accepted; that things were to be done in due form; and that the King of *France* could not alter the uſual Style of Paſsports, but muſt give to every one the Titles that belong'd to 'em. The States General went higher, for they ſpoke out in plain terms, and which alſo ſerv'd for an Anſwer to the King of *England*, that the Confederates and themſelves were very much ſurpriz'd that the King of *France* ſhould not give Prince *Charles* the Title of Duke of *Lorrain*, conſidering that the Treaty in the Year 1662, by which he was lawfully poſſeſſed of the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar* could not be lookt upon but as null and void, as being in the firſt place concluded with a Prince who had no Right or Power; beſides, that in the ſecond place, it was notoriouſly known, that the King had never perform'd that Treaty, nor the Clauſe which *Charles* IV. inſerted, which was one of the Principal

cipal Things contain'd in it. They added, That the King of *France* had made no mention of the Treaty 1662. in that of 1663. And that having, after the Death of *Charles* IV. granted Permiſſion to thoſe of his Houſe to give him the Title of Duke of *Lorrain*, their Wonder was ſo much the more that he ſhould refuſe the ſame Title to the new Duke, and by that means put a ſtop to a Peace, which all *Europe* ſo vehemently thirſted after. The King anſwer'd all theſe Objections. But in regard it was his Intereſt, that the Peace ſhould be concluded, after he had declar'd that the Titles either given or omitted could do him no Prejudice, he caus'd another Paſsport to be drawn, wherein he gave the New Duke the Title of Brother, and Duke of *Lorrain*. Upon which the Duke wrote the following Letter to the States General:

High and Potent Lords,

THE Conſtancy which your High and Mightineſſes have ſhewn in the Support of my Intereſt till this very time, in Purſuance of the Alliance into which you have done me the Honour to admit me, having conſtrain'd the King of France *to allow me thoſe Titles which God and Nature has given me, I find my ſelf oblig'd to teſtifie to your High and Mightineſſes my Joy and my Acknowledgment, not only in regard of my particular Intereſts, but much more by reaſon of the Satisfaction your Highneſſes receive, when they find their Deſigns ſucceſsful. Nevertheleſs, as all your Cares have been of my Intereſts, I deſire you to believe*

that I ſhall acknowledge them to the utmoſt of my Power as long as I live, and that if at preſent any Opportunity ſhould preſent it ſelf to give you Proofs of my ſincerity, I ſhould be paſſionately deſirous to lay hold of it. This the ſincere Proteſtation of, &c.

Charles Lorrain.

The French Army that lay in *Alſatia*, was to be commanded this Year 1676. by the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, whom the King had preferr'd before the Prince of *Condé* by means of the Intreagues of Monſieur *de Louvois*, who was no Friend to the Prince; and the Imperial Army was to be commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain*. For *Montecuculi* having got leave to retire to *Vienna*, had reſign'd his Command by Order of the Emperor.

Toward the beginning of the Campagne therefore, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* departed from *Scheleſtadt* at the Head of near Fifty thouſand Men, and after ſeven or eight days March, Encamp'd his Army upon freſh Intelligence, that the Duke of *Lorrain* was coming againſt him, with an Army not much inferiour in number to his, and that he was juſt upon paſſing the *Saar*. He could not believe at firſt that the Duke had any deſign to fight him; For in regard he was rather perſwaded that the Duke would Beſiege *Philipsburgh*, which had been block'd up for ſome time, he could not imagine he would venture a Battel. But being confirm'd by ſome Priſoners that the Imperial Army continu'd their March, he advanced himſelf

ſelf with a numerous Detachement, and gave Orders for the reſt of the Army to follow him. The Duke had already ſeiz'd upon a Riſing Ground, from whence he poured his ſmall Shot upon the Enemy. So that the Guard which *Luxemburgh* had caus'd to paſs beyond a little River that parted the two Armies, being forc'd to repaſs again, he lin'd the Hedges with his Dragoons and Infantry, for fear the Imperialiſts ſhould come on too faſt. But that could not ſtop 'em; ſo that there happen'd a Fight that laſted about two Hours, not at all to the Advantage of the Duke of *Luxemburgh*.

Now though it were impoſſible as well for the Imperialiſts as the French to ſtay long in thoſe Poſts where the Battel was fought, by reaſon of the great Difficulty of bringing Proviſions to the Armies; yet both Generals entrench'd themſelves, as if they had not been to ſtir during the whole Campagne: but in regard the Poſts were not tenable, they were oblig'd to quit 'em; and the Marſhal was the firſt that mov'd. He ſent away his heavy Baggage toward the beginning of the Night, when the Duke leaſt expected it; and having decamp'd with all the Silence imaginable, the Marſhal left in the Lanes as many Foot and Dragoons as he thought neceſſary to favour their Retreat. But the Imperialiſts perceiving they had decamp'd, preſently clear'd the Lanes of the Enemy, and having open'd a paſſage for the Cavalry, they thunder'd with ſuch a Fury upon the Rear of the French, and the Duke of *Lorrain* fought with ſuch a ſteady Courage, that if Count *Hamilton*, who had poſted himſelf upon

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an Advantageous ground, had not put himſelf with his Pike in his hand at the Head of his Regiment, there had been an end of the French Army.

Marſhal *de Luxemburgh* thus deliver'd by the Bravery of that Engliſh Gentleman, who nevertheleſs was ſlain at the ſame time, after his ſtout reſiſtance had put the Imperial Army to a kind of diſorder, which oblig'd the Duke to Sound a Retreat, got over to the other ſide of a ſmall River, by the ſide of which he encamp'd and entrench'd his Army. But the Duke following him thither, encamp'd within ſight of him, and ply'd the Marſhal ſo thick with his Cannon, that the French were ſtrangely terrified. Nevertheleſs, in regard they were poſted ſo advantageouſly, that it was impoſſible to force their Camp, the Duke drew off and bent his March for *Strasburgh*, which had declar'd for the Emperor after the Death of *Turenne*, and having ſent away his Artillery and his Infantry by Water, march'd directly for *Philipsburgh*, which he had Orders to Beſiege.

Prince *Frederick* of *Baden Dourlach*, General of the Army of the Circles, was entruſted with the Management of the Siege where he met with many Difficulties, in regard the place was Strong, the Gariſon very numerous, and the *Rhine* no leſs troubleſom, through the ſwelling of the Waters, though it were a Seaſon that Inundations are not very frequent. Nevertheleſs, the Prince, who had under him Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, General of the Emperor's Artillery, and the famous *Wertmuller*, made himſelf

himſelf Maſter of the Place after a vigorous Defence of Four Months, *Luxemburgh* not being able to relieve it; by reaſon of the Bravery and Vigilance of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who worſted him ſeveral times during the Siege; and at length forc'd him to Retreat, though at the Head of Fifty thouſand Men, almoſt in view of the Beſiegers. It is ſaid, that the Prince of *Condé*, who underſtood the Myſtery of War much better than *Luxemburgh*, being ask'd by the King what was to be done to ſave *Philipsburgh*; made anſwer, That he muſt keep the Duke of *Lorrain* from Beſieging it; but ſince the Error was committed, he ought to hazard the Army what e're it coſt him, and force the Enemy in his Entrenchments. But *Luxemburgh* was ſo far from doing that, that he only ſpun out the time, and gave Ground at laſt; which render'd him contemptible: inſomuch that a Thouſand Lampoons were made upon him in the Army; and among the Reſt this was One,

Upon the Rhine *a Monſter of a Beaſt*
Threaten'd Prodigious Havock to his Foes;
Though Lorrain *never fear'd him in the leaſt,*
But bravely did the Monſter ſtill oppoſe.
For why? the Monſter had no Head at all,
But arms a Hundred Thouſand, great and ſmall.

But at laſt, *Luxemburgh* aſham'd that he had perform'd nothing conſiderable with ſo brave an Army, bent his March for *Scheleſtadt*, with a deſign to Repair his Honour in *Briſgau*. To which purpoſe, he ſet his Men to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine* below *Briſſac*. But he was ſo long about it, that the Duke had leiſure to oppoſe

poſe his Deſigns, and put a good Gariſon into *Friburgh*, the only Place that was in danger on that ſide. So that all *Luxemburgh*'s Atchievements terminated in Plundering ſome few Villages, and putting little Gariſons into petty Places, to prevent the Duke, that follow'd him cloſe from falling upon Him at a Diſadvantage, as if he had been only upon the Defenſive part. After which having repaſſed the *Rhine*, he encamp'd between *Briſac* and *Baſle*, while the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſtill obſerving his Motions, advanc'd toward the latter City, fearing leſt he might have ſome deſign upon it, though it were a City that ſtood Neuter.

Now in regard the Weather began to grow very unſeaſonable, and for that there was nothing more to be done in thoſe Poſts, both Armies reſolv'd to retire to their Winter Quarters. *Luxemburgh* ſent one part of his Men in to *Alſatia*, and the other part into *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*, who in the way ſeiz'd upon the Country of *Montbeillard*, which as the King afterwards publickly declar'd, was done, not that he had any deſign to make himſelf Maſter of *Montbeillard*, but only to take it into his Protection; however the Prince and Princeſs not caring for ſuch Protectors, retir'd to *Baſle*. As for the Duke of *Lorrain*, in regard his Men were very much tired out with the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, he ſent them to their Winter Quarters in *Suabia* and *Franconia*, after he had taken all neceſſary care, that they ſhould not be ſurpriz'd by the Duke of *Luxemburgh*.

The Succeſs which the Duke had had, put him in great hopes of the ſame Proſperity the

next

next year. He thought it would be no difficult matter to break into his own Country, where he knew himſelf to be paſſionately deſir'd by his own Subjects. So that in the midſt of theſe Thoughts he made it his Buſineſs to be early in the Field; as he was before the end of *April*. Now in regard he was aſſur'd of *Strasburgh* Bridge, he order'd his Army to Rendezvous upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, while the Prince of *Saxon Eſſenak* labour'd the laying of a Bridge order the ſame River to enter *Alſatia* another way. For this Prince Commanded the Army of the Circles inſtead of the Marquis of *Baden Dourlach*, who fell Sick and Died preſently after the taking of *Philipsburgh*.

The King of *France* on the other ſide, advertiz'd of this Deſign, and fearing leſt the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould force a paſſage into his own Territories, if once he got footing in *Alſatia*, laid that Country waſte after ſo terrible a manner, to deprive the Imperial Army of all Subſiſtance there, that he burnt up all the Villages, demoliſh'd the Walls and Fortifications of all the conſiderable Cities, except *Scheleſtadt*, and two or three other Towns that were ſtrong enough to ſtop the Imperialiſts. And indeed it may be ſaid, that the King of *France* had never ſo much Reaſon to be afraid as he had at the beginning of this Campagne. He had to do with a victorious Enemy, at the Head of above Threeſcore Thouſand Men, and a valiant General, who fought for his own proper Intereſts; and who, conſidering the mildneſs of his Temper towards his own Subjects, could not fail, unleſs he were ſtrongly oppos'd to make himſelf

ſelf Maſter of *Lorrain*, and carry the War into the very Heart of *France*. So that it is no wonder, conſidering the Fears he was in, that he was conſtrain'd to take that deſperate courſe to lay deſolate his own Country, and to make a wide deſart of one of the goodlieſt Provinces of *Germany*. But this was not the only care that Monarch took. For miſdoubting leaſt *Luxembergh* ſhould have no better Succeſs than he had the year before, he oppos'd *Crequi* againſt the Duke of *Lorrain*, with this Condition, notwithſtanding all the Confidence he had in him, that he ſhould venture nothing, but ſhun as much as it was poſſible, the coming to a Battel with the Enemy.

Nevertheleſs, the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was not ignorant of the Kings Fears, and ſaw a fair proſpect of new Conqueſts before him, caus'd this Latin Motto to be put in his Colours, *Aut nunc aut nunquam*, *Now or Never*: And with theſe hopes he paſs'd over *Strasburgh* Bridge, and bent his march directly for *Mets*, with a Reſolution to force the Paſſes of the *Meuſe*, which he believ'd would be ſtrongly Guarded; while the Prince of *Saxon Eſſenak* march'd into *Alſatia* with the Army of the Circles.

But the firſt thing which the Duke of *Lorrain* took care of, was to erect his Magazines at *Treves*, which made *Crequi* believe that he had ſome deſign that way. After which, advancing along the *Saar*, he ſent out a ſtrong Party, which coming before the Caſtle of *Illingham*, conſtrain'd the Gariſon to Surrender upon Diſcretion.

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He ſent out another Party to ſeize the little Town of *Sarbruch*, to which the Governor ſet Fire upon the approach of the Imperialiſts, and retreated to the Caſtle. Which ſo incens'd the Imperialiſts, that they rais'd a Battery of Four pieces of Cannon, and what with their great Shot on the one ſide, and their Bombs on the other, the Caſtle was brought to that Diſtreſs in a little time, that the Governor beat a Parley, but no Capitulation would be liſten'd to. So that the Governor was carry'd to *Treves*, and the beſt part of the Gariſon put to the Sword. After that the Imperialiſts alſo took the Caſtle of *Kitchel*. So that the Duke of *Lorrain* being thus Maſter of all the ſmall Places upon the *Saar*, purſu'd the French, who lay near to the *Seille*.

Upon the approach of the Imperialiſts, the French paſs'd that River, and not believing themſelves ſafe enough in the place where they Encamped, they retreated farther off. The Duke of *Lorrain* paſs'd the River in five places, and encamped within half a League of the Enemy: So that there was only a thick Wood, and a Hill, which hinder'd the two Armies from being in ſight of each other.

Crequi, who had receiv'd at the ſame time a Reinforcement of Eight Squadrons of the Kings Guards of his Body, and two others of the Gens d'Armes and light Horſe of the Guards, laid a Bridge over the *Seille* at *Longueville*, as if he had a deſign to repaſs that River. But that being only for a Bravado, he march'd directly for *Morville*, from whence he drave out the Imperialiſts that kept it, and then ſeiz'd upon ſome Hills, where he planted his Cannon.

So

So that all the Duke of *Lorrain* could do was to poſſeſs himſelf of a Wood upon the Right Hand of the French Army. And then believing the Enemy would have come out of their Trenches, he drew up his Army in order of Battel. But finding they had no ſuch deſign, he endeavour'd to bring his Artillery ſo as to bear upon the French. But before that could be done in a place Convenient, the Imperialiſts were forc'd to undergo a rude bruſh, not a little to their Damage, though the loſſes of the Enemy were not inconſiderable.

The French were intrench'd in a very advantageous Place, ſo as not to be forc'd in their Poſts. So that the Duke thought it Prudence to retreat a little farther, in hopes to draw *Crequi* into open Ground. But finding that the French avoided Battel, he repaſs'd the *Seille*, and being encamp'd a little nearer to *Metz* than he was before, he attack'd the Fort of *Eſpi* which the Enemy had rais'd upon the River. Upon that, *Crequi* ſent out a Party of Two Thouſand Men to ſuccour it; but they were ſo vigorouſly repuls'd, that a great number of the Souldiers were forc'd to throw themſelves into the Water to ſave themſelves: And the reſt brake down the Bridge which the Marſhal had laid over that part of the River, that they might have time to Retreat before the Imperialiſts could be in a Condition to follow the purſuit.

Nevertheleſs, the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Forces making daily Inroads into the Country, made their way to the very Gates of *Mets* and *Thionville* to fetch in Contributions; the Duke being a Horſeback Day and Night; and certain

it is that he expoſed himſelf too vent'rouſly for a General: Inſomuch that having paſſed the *Saar* with the Marquiſs of *Grana*, and Twenty Horſe, to view the Place where the French Army, commanded by *Crequi*, was beaten in the Year 1675. by the Duke his Uncle, he had like to have fallen into an Ambuſcade of Three Hundred French: But being luckily informed by certain Peaſants of the Danger which his unſeaſonable Curioſity had like to have brought him into, he had the leiſure to 'ſcape, and ſend out a Party which utterly diſperſed the Ambuſcade.

It would be too tedious to recount the Particulars of this Campagne; which, to ſay truth, conſiſted only in a great many inconſiderable Skirmiſhes. For Marſhal *Crequi* ſtill retreated, when there was any probability of coming to a Battel. So that the Imperial Army, whatever Advantages they might have till then, began to ſuffer very much for want of neceſſary Proviſions; which being to come from *Treves*, were with great hazard brought to the Army. For beſides that *Crequi* had always Parties abroad to intercept the Wagons, the Governor of *Thionville* ſent out ſuch Numerous Detachements, that many times their Vittles coſt 'em dear. And therefore the Duke, conſidering that theſe Difficulties were almoſt inſurmountable, reſolv'd to decamp from the Place where he lay. To this purpoſe he paſs'd the *Moſelle*, in hopes to compel the French to fight, in ſpight of their Teeths. But finding it was abſolutely impoſſible, becauſe they ſtill retreated, he thought it the beſt courſe he could take

to march toward the *Meuſe*, on purpoſe to find the Enemy Imployment on that ſide. And having taken this Reſolution, he preſently poſſeſſed himſelf of certain Hills which he found in his way, by that means to ſecure himſelf. Upon which, *Crequi*, believ'd that he only ſought to paſs the *Moſelle*, but finding himſelf deceiv'd by the Dukes falſe March, did what he could to follow him: But finding it impoſſible to overtake him, he retreated into *Lorrain*, while the Imperial Army continu'd their March toward *Ponta Mouſſon*.

The King of *France* therefore, who apprehended the Dukes Deſign, had ſent Marſhal *Schombergh* with Twenty Squadrons of Horſe, and ſome Foot, to ſecure *Sedan* and the Neighbouring Places. And cauſed all that could be removed to be carried away from *Mouſſon*: So that when the Duke arrived there, he found the Place deſerted. However, the Army pillag'd and plunder'd ſeveral Villages, and exacted heavy Contributions. But the Duke being unwilling to venture any farther into an extream Woody Country, returned with a Deſign to joyn the Prince of *Saxon Eiſenach*, in *Alſatia*; though there were ſome miſunderſtanding between thoſe two Generals, that did not a little prejudice the Emperors Affairs, and fruſtrated all the Hopes of that Campagne: And yet never had any General more need of ſuccour than he had.

This Prince, who ſome Days before had coup'd up *Monclare*'s Army in ſuch a Place, where of Neceſſity they muſt have ſtarved or yielded, if Marſhal *Crequi* had not reliev'd them, was at length penn'd up himſelf in an Iſland in the

the *Rhine*, between the Bridge of *Strasburgh* and [illegible] which *Crequi* with Ten Thou[illegible] had forc'd him to [illegible] Men, [illegible] in regard that he ex[illegible] to be relieved by the Duke of *Lorrain*, or that the City of *Strasburgh* would uſe their Endeavours, he was reſolv'd to ſubſiſt in the Iſland as long as it was poſſible; and during that time he fought with ſo much Fury, that *Crequi* in ſeveral Skirmiſhes loſt whole Regiments, and ſeveral Officers of Note. But the City of *Strasburgh*, afraid of *Crequi*'s Menaces, and deſirous to Negotiate ſome Accommodation between the Two Generals, the Prince of *Saxon Eſſenach* was oblig'd to Capitulate and yield himſelf, upon Condition, that he ſhould not take up Arms again, during the remainder of that Campagne. A Condition nevertheleſs which *Crequi* was very unwilling to conſent to, as ſevere as it was upon the Prince of *Saxony*; for his aim at leaſt was, that the Prince ſhould have yielded himſelf Priſoner with all his Army. But fearing, leſt while he ſpent time in Diſputes, the City of *Strasburgh* ſhould play him ſome unlucky Trick, or leſt the Prince ſhould be reliev'd ſome other way, he accepted the Terms.

And indeed the Duke of *Lorrain* march'd Day and Night to relieve the Prince; ſo that he had certainly been deliver'd within a Day a two: But the News of his Misfortune reaching the Duke upon the Road, afflicted his very Soul. Nor was this the only Vexation that befel him before the end of the Campagne. For

lieving there was no more to be done, in regard that *Crequi* ſtill avoided a ſet Field, unwilling to tire out his Men, and being reſolv'd to take up his Winter-Quarters betimes, he drew off. On the other ſide, Marſhal *Crequi* made a ſhew of doing the ſame. But ſo ſoon as the Duke was far enough off from the French Army, *Crequi* Inveſted *Friburgh* with his Horſe, while his Infantry marched ſlowly after to lay a formal Siege to the Town.

The Duke was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd to hear of this; and indeed he would hardly believe the News. But finding it confirm'd by ſeveral Couriers, he diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger to the Governor, to aſſure him of Relief, and bid him not be diſmay'd. But the Ways were ſo bad by reaſon the Seaſon was ſo far advanc'd, that notwithſtanding all the haſte he could make, he was hardly got half way, before he underſtood that the Governor had ſurrender'd. This News ſurpriz'd him more than the former; in regard he look'd upon the Place as too ſtrong to Capitulate ſo ſoon. For it was environ'd with a double Wall, defended by a Citadel with four Baſtions, and the Gariſon was ſufficiently numerous, as conſiſting of above Three Thouſand Men. But Marſhal *Crequi* carried on the Siege with ſo much Vigour and Diligence, that the Governor was at a ſtand, notwithſtanding all his Shews of Reſolution at the beginning of the Siege. The ſame Day alſo that the Place was begirt, Marſhal *Schomberg* with Three Hundred Men, ſeconded by ſome Brigades of Foot, attack't the two Redoubts upon the Hill where the Cittadel ſtands, and carry'd them by main Force:

Force: After which, the Trenches being opened, were advanc'd as far as the Moat; and all the while the Cannon played ſo furiouſly upon the Walls, that they made a Breach about Eighteen Yards wide. Whereupon the Marſhal ſent a Summons to the Governor. To which he anſwered, That having learn'd his Trade among the French, he ſhould ſhew himſelf a Scholar unworthy the Leſſons they had taught him, if he did not practiſe them, when there was a good Occaſion. This was the Martial Compliment Major General *Schultz* (for he Commanded the Place) ſent back to the French General. For finding at firſt, that the Breach was not eaſie to be enter'd, by reaſon it was very high, and for that the Moats were no leſs deep, he thought that before the Enemy could fill 'em up, and make their Approaches, he might very well endure a little more Hardſhip; and this was that which forced *Crequi* to drive on the Siege the more vigorouſly. And therefore perceiving that the Beſieged did not mind the Breach, he reſolv'd to lodge ſome of his Men upon it, which notwithſtanding the danger of the Enterprize, was effected with a moſt daring Reſolution. In the mean time Mareſchal *Schomberg* having carried an Outwork that ſecured a Redoubt which very much annoyed the Beſiegers, the Enemy fired from thence ſo thick into the Redoubt it ſelf, that they who defended it were forced to yield themſelves Priſoners. So that the Beſiegers having got thus far forward, and *Crequi* reſolving to bring the Siege to a ſpeedy Concluſion, order'd all things to be prepared ready for a Storm. Which ſo

terrify'd the Governor, that he deſir'd to Capitulate. And ſo the Place was Surrendred after a Siege of Seven or Eight days. Which made many People believe, that there was Treachery in the Main. In a word, the Imperial Officers complain'd, that they had never any Orders given them; that a Council of War had never been call'd; and that the ſmall Reſiſtance which the French met with made them the more bold to venture. And for a farther proof of a ſuſpected Correſpondence in the Place, his Imperial Majeſty caus'd the Governor to be Arreſted ſome time after: but not being able to Convict him of any thing but want of Courage, he gave him his Liberty again; ſaying only this, That he had very ill perform'd his Duty, and that the Duke of *Lorrain* could not be every where.

However, in regard that People make their Judgments of things by the Succeſs; the Duke of *Lorrain* was blam'd for leaving the Field ſo ſoon, and not foreſeeing the Siege. But thoſe that judg'd more diſcreetly of the Affair, were of opinion, that it was only a piece of ill Luck that attended the Duke: and that though he had foreſeen *Crequi*'s Deſign, yet he could not foreſee that ſuch a ſtrong Hold as *Friburgh* ſhould Surrender within a Week. That he was not to omit the giving reſt to his Army for that, ſince he might have come ſoon enough to relieve the Place, had he been farther off than he was, would the Governor but have ventur'd the utmoſt Extremities of a Siege, rather than have Surrender'd, almoſt before any harm was done him.

But

But the French pufft up with this Succeſs, would not ſtop here, but away they march'd to *Walkrick*, which together with ſome other Caſtles in the Neighborhood, they lay'd level with the Ground; and finding that was all they could do, they repaſſed the *Rhine*, and betook themſelves to their Winter Quarters.

During theſe Tranſactions in *Germany*, the Negotiations for Peace went on, though very ſlowly, at *Nimeghen*. For the Mediators were a long time before they could regulate the Ceremonies, and manage the Concerns of every Prince; beſides, that the Ambaſſadors of the Princes intereſted, were not ſo punctual in meeting at the Place appointed, as the French Ambaſſadors were.

The Preſident-Canon, and the Baron of *Serinchamp*, who were the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Plenipotentiaries, did not arrive till toward the beginning of *May* 1677. And his Intereſts, as being a Prince, whoſe Territories were unjuſtly uſurp'd by the French, gave the Mediators a great deal of Trouble. For the King of *France*'s Ambaſſadors refus'd to admit thoſe two Miniſters: pretending that they were not to hearken to their Propoſals nor Demands. That the Biſhop of *Strasburgh*'s Agent was not formerly admitted to determine the Buſineſs touching Prince *William* of *Furſtenbergh* his Brother; which the Imperialiſts oppos'd, alledging that the Duke of *Lorrain* was a Soveraign Prince, whereas the Biſhop of *Strasburgh* was no more than one of the Emperor's Subjects, whoſe Differences and Suits could no where be determin'd but within the Empire, and before Judges that

had the proper Cognizance of them. And then another thing was, that the French Ambaſſadors would not acknowledge the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Miniſters to be Ambaſſadors.

The Preſident-Canon diſcourſed a long time in Private Conferences, to prove that they had a Right to be acknowledg'd under that Character. But in regard it all ſignify'd nothing, upon the 16th of *May* he preſented a Remonſtrance to the Mediators, wherein he ſo ſubſtantially ſet forth the Intereſts of the Duke his Maſter, that the French Ambaſſadors were at a loſs what Anſwer to make. He ſet forth, after he had laid open all the petty Litigious Niceties of the French, more eſpecially in the buſineſs of Paſsports, that when they knew not how to avoid giving the Duke the Titles of Duke and Brother, yet they had bethought themſelves of refuſing the Character of Ambaſſadors to his Miniſters: and that in the mean time, when they could not but agree that it was the Right of Soveraigns, which was never deny'd them; yet to elude the Matter, and ſpin out the Brabble, they perſiſted in a Nicety of their own framing, that it behov'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to prove that his Predeceſſors ever ſent any Miniſters to the Courts of Foreign Princes under that Character.

He confeſs'd that ſuch a proof indeed would be a means to ſhorten the deciſion of the Controverſie but that the French had carried away all the Papers and Records belonging to the Dutchy, and partly ſold them to the Grocers of *Metz* and *Nancy*, and partly given 'em among the Soldiers to kindle their Fires in the Corps du

du Guard; which although they could not produce for thoſe Reaſons; yet there were other ſufficient Proofs why that Right ſhould not be deny'd them. In ſhort the Preſident alledg'd the Treaty made in a full Dyet of the Empire at *Norembergh*, *Auguſt* 26. 1642. between *Charles* V. and *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* on the one part, and *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain* on the other, who had there four Miniſters under the Character of Ambaſſadors. He farther ſhew'd that the ſame Title was given to others that were preſent at the Contract of Marriage between Duke *Francis* the Son of *Anthony*, and *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, *Charles* the Fifth's Siſter. And to omit nothing to prove that the Duke of *Lorrain* had a Right to ſend Ambaſſadors, he cited ſeveral Alliances of the Dukes of that Family, among which there were no leſs than four Marriages with the Emperor's Daughters, beſides that of Duke *Francis*, the Son of *Antonie*.

All this manifeſtly prov'd the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Right to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Nimeghen*, as well as the French. But in regard the French would not ſubmit to theſe Reaſons, and for that the Duke who was unwilling to obſtruct the Peace, thought it better to paſs by the Nicety of the word Ambaſſador, as long as they were allow'd the Title of Plenipotentiaries, more eſpecially ſince the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the States General gave them the Character of Ambaſſadors, the Preſident inſiſted no farther upon that Diſpute.

So that now the Chief things of which that Miniſter complain'd of in his Memorial, were the

the Delays of the French Ambaſſadors, who had not vouchſafed to give any Anſwer to the Propoſitions and Demands of the Duke of *Lorrain*, though it had been ſix Months ſince they were preſented. He added, that the French Ambaſſadors refuſed to Anſwer, in regard the Duke had no Miniſters at *Nimeghen*; and afterwards they deny'd to do the ſame thing, becauſe they were come thither. He complain'd of the little Inclination which he found in *France* to reſtore the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, though ſhe knew well enough, that without that Condition the Peace could never be concluded. And after he had ſet forth in a moſt Pathetical and inſinuating manner, that the Duke of *Lorrain* demanded nothing but his Patrimony, and the Inheritance of his Anceſtors, which Six and fifty Dukes from whom he had the Honour to be deſcended, had poſſeſs'd, he earneſtly deſir'd that they would preſs the French Ambaſſadors for an Anſwer, and in the mean time, prepare themſelves to do the Duke his Maſter Juſtice. But notwithſtanding all the Importunity of the Mediators, it was above Nine or Ten Months before the Preſident could get a poſitive Anſwer. But at length the King himſelf, having drawn up the draught of a Peace which he ſent to his Ambaſſadors, and which was deliver'd the 15th of *April* 1678. to the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of the Confederates by the Engliſh Mediators, the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Plenipotentiaries after they had read what concern'd the reſt of the Princes intereſted, found the King of *France*'s Declaration, That to give the moſt undoubted

undoubted Teſtimony imaginable of his Deſires of Peace, what Reaſons ſoever he might have to keep the Poſſeſſion, yet he was willing to reſtore it to the Duke of *Lorrain*, under one of the two Alternatives which he left to his Choice. The firſt was to reſettle him, according to the Articles of the *Pyrenean* Treaty, without any Alteration at all. The ſecond was to reſtore him generally to all his Territories except the City of *Nanci*, which ſhould remain to him in Soveraignty; and the High Road according to the Treaty 1661. to paſs through his Frontiers into *Alſatia*, as alſo ſuch other Roads as ſhould be neceſſary to paſs from *France* to *Nanci*, and from *Nanci* to *Mets*, *Briſac*, and *Franche Contè*: upon condition nevertheleſs, that for the loſs of *Nanci*, he would give him *Thaoul*. The King demanded alſo in the ſame Draught, that *Lonwick* and the Provoſtſhip belonging to it, ſhould be deliver'd up to him; but with this offer, to recompence the Duke with another Provoſtſhip of equal Value in the three Biſhopricks. And as for *Marſal*, in regard that Town was now no more a Part of *Lorrain*, it was not to be mention'd in the Articles of Reſtitution.

The King, when he ſent this Draught, had declar'd withal to his Ambaſſadors, that he would not be oblig'd to ſtand to the Conditions upon which he offer'd Peace, beyond the 10th of *May*, and therefore the Princes with whom he was at War were to determine what they would do by that time at the fartheſt. The Ambaſſadors of the Confederates cry'd out againſt this, and ſaid it was impoſſible, that an Affair

Affair of that Importance as the Concluſion of a Peace could be determin'd in ſo ſhort a time. But at length it was found that *Spain* and *Holland* after ſome little Negotiations of the French Ambaſſadors were enclin'd to accept a Peace upon the Conditions offer'd by *France*. Which made the Imperialiſts, and the Miniſters of the Northern Princes exclaim againſt the Hollanders and Spaniards; declaring openly, that the King of *France* would delude 'em; and that the Peace which he made with 'em, was only to bring 'em under a greater Subjection. The other Miniſters were indifferent; but the Preſident-Canon utterly rejected the Conditions propos'd by the King. And enlarging upon the Severity of the Alternatives, he ſet forth, That the firſt ſwallow'd up all his Country, by diſmembring the Half of his Territories. And the other, by taking from him his Capital City, and the Soveraignty of the four Roads which the King demanded, deny'd him the Commerce of one part of his Territories with the other: Concluding with a Proteſtation, That if the Faith of Three Treaties made with the Confederates ſignified nothing toward his Maſter's Reſtoration, he would renounce his Country, and rather willingly Baniſh himſelf, than return to it upon ſuch hard Conditions.

After the Death of King *Michael*, the Emperor, as already has been intimated, had a deſign to Marry the Queen of *Poland*, his Siſter, to the Duke of *Lorrain*. The Princeſs alſo had declar'd in favour of him, when the Election of the new King was in diſpute: and had poſitively ſaid, that ſhe look'd upon the Prince as her Husband.

Husband. And the Duke of *Lorrain*, though indifferent at the beginning, was become ſo inamour'd of her, that the only trouble which he felt for the loſs of the Crown of *Poland*, was for her ſake, believing the loſs of that would alſo defeat him of her Perſon. However, notwithſtanding all the Prince's Misfortunes, and his being deſpoil'd of his Territories, neither the Emperor nor the Queen of *Poland* alter'd their Sentiments, ſo that upon his departure from *Vienna* for *Flanders*, the Emperor did in a manner poſitively promiſe him, that it ſhould be none of his fault, if they were not more nearly Ally'd: and on the other ſide he receiv'd from the Queen ſo many Marks of Affection and Eſteem, that he could not but depend upon 'em.

However, though it were a Match almoſt made, yet four or five years were already ſpun out before the Emperor ever ſpoke of concluding it. His deſign was firſt to have ſeen the Prince re-ſettled in his Throne. Which, according to all outward appearance, could be no long time: the Negotiations for Peace ſtill continuing at *Nimeguen*, and the moſt part of the Princes of the Empire being inclin'd to accept it. But the Negotiations going on but very ſlowly, and he having long delay'd to recompence the good Services done him by the Duke, at length toward the end of the Campagne he diſpatch'd a Courier to him, with Orders to return to *Vienna*, and conclude the Marriage.

This News was ſo pleaſing to the Duke, that he could not contain his Joy. So that after he had read the Emperor's Letter, with a ſmiling

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Countenance he told the Meſſenger, that his ſorrow was in ſome meaſure atton'd for the loſs of *Friburgh*; and that the Honour which his Imperial Majeſty had done him, was ſo certain a good Omen, that his bad Fortune began to forſake him, that he doubted not, but ſo ſoon as he took the Field, to make himſelf Maſter of it again, and cauſe Marſhal *Crequi* to remember the Valour of the Dukes of *Lorrain*. But as the greateſt Joys are thoſe which are moſt frequently intermix'd with the ſharpeſt Pangs of Trouble and Vexation, there befell him an Accident at *Philipsburgh*, that had like to have put an end, together with his Life, to all his Hopes and Deſigns. For as he was going over a Bridge that belong'd to that place, one of the Planks not being well faſten'd, unluckily gave way, ſo that he fell to the bottom of the Moat. But though the danger were very great, yet he came off with only a Bruiſe upon his Shin, that did not a little trouble him for ſome time.

People diſcours'd of this Fall variouſly in the World. For ſome look'd upon it as an Accident unforeſeen: but ſome affirm'd, it was a Trap laid for him by the * Governor of the Town, with a deſign to have ſacrific'd him by an untimely end, to *France*. In ſhort the Governor was Arreſted, and carried to *Vienna*, but he could not be convicted by all the Inquiſitions that were made. However it were, the Duke was no ſooner in a Condition to undertake a Journey, but he departed, leaving Prince *Herman* of *Baden* to Command the Imperial Army; of which the greateſt part was quarter'd about *Offenburgh*, and the reſt diſpers'd into other

* *See a Letter-Book, Entitled,* The Emperor & the Empire betray'd, by whom, & how.

other Winter-Quarters. Now in regard his Fall had very much diſorder'd him, he could not travel far in a day; ſo that with all the haſte he could make, he could not arrive at *Baden*, between *Vienna* and *Newſtadt*, till the 4th of *February*. There he reſted for ſome days, to take the benefit of the Baths, and was alſo met by the Marquis *de Grana*, the Count of *Bouquoi*, and ſeveral other Noblemen, to accompany him to *Newſtadt*, where the Emperor then kept his Court. The laſt days Journey he was met half way by the Emperor's Grand Squire, accompanied by Count *Wallenſtein* Captain of Horſe, and the Counts *Manſfeildt* and *Schaffenbergh*, who alighting out of their Coaches, paid him their Compliments, and ſo went altogether to *Newſtadt*, where they arriv'd in good time. The Duke was receiv'd without the Caſtle Gate, at the foot of the Stairs, by the Maſter of the Houſhold and the Chamberlains, and at the top by the Grand Chamberlain, who conducted him to the Emperor's Chamber; which is an extraordinary Honour. The Emperor preſently caus'd him to be admitted to his Preſence; order'd a Chair to be brought for him to ſit down; and after a ſhort Diſcourſe together, the Emperor himſelf lead him to the Empreſs Regent's Anti-Chamber. Preſently after that the Duke went to the Apartment of the Empreſs Dowager, where was the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, and the Arch-Dutcheſs her Siſter. After a ſhort Diſcourſe, the Empreſs Dowager, and the Arch-Dutcheſs retir'd, leaving the Duke alone with the Queen of *Poland* till Supper-time.

It

It is not to be expreſs'd how great the Honour was which the Emperor ſhew'd him. His own Gentlemen, and all the Foreign Miniſters that were at Court conducted him to the *Arſenal*, where there was an Apartment ready prepar'd for him, and where he was waited on at Supper by the Officers belonging to his Imperial Majeſty.

But in regard he was ſomewhat tir'd with a long Journey, he was unwilling to Eat publickly; beſides that he kept himſelf upon a Couch till Seven of the Clock in the Evening, at what time he went to the Empreſs Dowagers Chamber, from whence he was to go to the Chapel in the Palace, where the Ceremony of the Marriage was to be perform'd.

As he made his Progreſſion from the Empreſs Dowagers Chamber to the Chapel, a great number of the Officers of the Court went foremoſt. After whom followed the Emperor's Principal Miniſters of State; and next to them Twelve Knights of the Golden Fleece in black Habits with their Order. Then followed the Duke of *Lorrain* himſelf, preceded by the Prince of *Lixhim*, his Marſhal, and the Baron of *Chaunivech* Captain of the Guards of his Body. Soon after appear'd the Emperor, before whom went the Count *de Lamber*, Grand Marſhal, the Counts of *Baden*, *Wilſterne*, and *Mansfeild*. The Two Grand Marſhals of the Two Empreſſes, the Queen of *Poland*'s Grand Marſhal, and one of the Eldeſt Chamberlains led the two Empreſſes, the Queen of *Poland*, and the Arch-Dutcheſs, who were attended by ſeveral Ladies, Maids of Honour, and ſome Foreign

reign Princeſſes. In the Chapel was erected a Scaffold, thirty foot high, and about ten or twelve Paces Broad; but becauſe there was not Room for all the Ladies, ſome were forc'd to ſtand upon the Stairs.

Over-againſt the Altar was another Scaffold cover'd with a Crimſon Velvet Carpet, Fring'd with Gold, upon which were plac'd two Elbow Chairs, where the Queen and Duke ſate. By the ſide of this was another Scaffold, where the Emperor, the Empreſs, the Empreſs Dowager, and the Arch-Dutcheſs ſeated themſelves. The Ceremony was performed by the Biſhop of *Newſtadt*, aſſiſted by two other Biſhops; and no ſooner was it ended, but the Biſhop addreſſing himſelf to the Duke and and Queen to ask their Conſents, the Queen let him know, that he muſt addreſs himſelf to their Imperial Majeſties; who thereupon making a Sign, that they Conſented to the Marriage, the new Married Couple received the Benediction. This done, *Te Deum* was ſung; and after that, the Emperor went to embrace the Duke, but the Duke bow'd himſelf down ſo low, that his Imperial Majeſty could not give him that mark of his Affection. All the Ceremonies thus concluded, they returned in the ſame Order as they went to the Chapel; the Trumpets Sounding, and ſeveral other Inſtruments Playing all the while. The following days were ſpent in Feaſting and other Divertiſements. But in regard the Duke was to Command the Emperor's Army in *Germany*, after he had paſt over *Lent* with the Queen at *Inſpruch*, he departed in the midſt of all the Pleaſures of his

It is not to be expreſs'd how great the Honour was which the Emperor ſhew'd him. His own Gentlemen, and all the Foreign Miniſters that were at Court conducted him to the *Arſenal*, where there was an Apartment ready prepar'd for him, and where he was waited on at Supper by the Officers belonging to his Imperial Majeſty.

But in regard he was ſomewhat tir'd with a long Journey, he was unwilling to Eat publickly; beſides that he kept himſelf upon a Couch till Seven of the Clock in the Evening, at what time he went to the Empreſs Dowagers Chamber, from whence he was to go to the Chapel in the Palace, where the Ceremony of the Marriage was to be perform'd.

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Marriage to join Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, not much unlike Marſhal *Bouillon*, Marſhal *Turenne*'s Father, who was forc'd to put on his Arms upon his Nuptial Night to ſurprize *Stenai*. So that before the end of *April* 1678, the Duke arriv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Wormes*, where he had appointed his Head-Quarters.

The Duke was not yet well recover'd of his Bruiſe, beſides that he was tir'd with a long Journey; nevertheleſs, ſuch was his Impatience to take the Field, to the end he might be before hand with *Crequi*, and endeavour the retaking of *Friburgh*, that he caus'd his Army to march at the beginning of *May*. He had Four and Twenty Regiments of Horſe, Five of Dragroons, and about Sixteen Thouſand Foot, which made up Forty Thouſand Men, without counting in the Three Regiments of *Treves* and *Luxemburgh*, which were to joyn him. The French Army at firſt was nothing near ſo numerous, but afterwards *Crequi* receiv'd ſo many Reinforcements, that the Armies were very equal, whatever the French Report. The Duke alſo on his march took along with him Count *Koningſeck*, whom the Emperor had choſen to aſſiſt him with his Counſels. And firſt they agreed upon the erecting their Magazines, and ſecuring their Proviſions from *Strasburgh*. Which being done, they encamp'd between *Offenburgh* and the Fort of *Kell*, which ſecur'd *Serasburgh* Bridge on *Germany* ſide.

The great Deſign of the Duke of *Lorrain* was to hinder the French from getting into *Briſgau*. To which purpoſe he reſolv'd to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine*, and march into the upper

upper *Alſatia* with a good part of his Army, to draw off Marſhal *Crequi*, while the reſt of his Forces beſieged *Friburgh*. To this purpoſe he paſt Three Hunderd Horſe over a flying Bridge near *Ruperſchau*, with orders to poſt themſelves between *Bloſheim*, and *Altenheim*, to ſecure the Bridge which he had laid over that part of the River; and at the ſame time Prince *Herman* of *Baden* had orders to Summon in Two Thouſand of the Country Peaſants to repair the Highways, through which the Cannon was to be drawn to the Siege of *Friburgh*.

All things ſeem'd to favour the Dukes Enterprize. But Marſhal *Crequi* deſirous to preſerve the Reputation he had acquir'd the laſt year, had begun about the Tenth of *May* to draw together a Body of about Twenty Thouſand Men. And underſtanding that the Duke was buſily employ'd in making a Bridge at *Altenheime*, he encamp'd himſelf in a place, from whence he might either oppoſe the paſſage of the Imperialiſts into *Alſatia*, or fall into *Briſgau* through *Briſac*. However, conſidering that it was more neceſſary for him to fall into *Briſgau*, before the Imperialiſts were ready to make any conſiderable attempt, he paſs'd the *Rhine* with his whole Army over *Briſac* Bridge, and another Bridge which he laid over the River, above a League below that place. Upon which the Duke follow'd him, and encamp'd within Six Leagues of him, with a purpoſe to fall upon him, or force him to repaſs the *Rhine*, perceiving well that all his Methods were diſappointed, and that he could neither paſs into *Alſatia*, nor ſecure *Friburgh*. On the other ſide *Crequi*, who

perceiv'd the Dukes deſign, encamp'd within half a League of *Rhinefelde*; and at length, through the ſeveral Movements of both Armies, they came within ſight of each other, being only ſeparated by the River *Eltz*, which was every where Fordable. However, neither of them would begin firſt; in regard of the narrow Lanes that were between 'em, extreamly to the diſadvantage of them that ſhould be the firſt Aſſailant. Only the Imperialiſts ſent out ſome Parties that took ſome few Priſoners, and frequently alarum'd the French Army. Thus the two Armies ſeperated for a time, but ſoon after came in view of each other again, upon the Banks of the ſame River. And they lay ſo near one to the other, that there was not a day that paſt without Skirmiſhes, wherein ſometimes the French, ſometimes the Imperialiſts got the better. And this was all that the Movements of thoſe two Armies produc'd. For it was in vain for the Duke to torment himſelf to bring *Crequi* to a Battel: His deſign being only to tire out the Imperialiſts, as he had done the year before, to prevent their deſigns upon *Friburgh*, and ſtill to ſeize upon ſome advantageous Poſt from whence he could not be forc'd; his buſineſs being only to ſtand upon his Guard.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was vex'd to the Soul to ſee all his Meaſures thus broken, and that he could not force the Enemy to Fight, finding there was no way to bring about his deſigns but by beating the Enemy out of the Field. So that not knowing what courſe to take, he paſs'd the River *Eltz*, and poſted himſelf between *Brijack* and the French Army, believing that

to

to be the way to force Marſhal *Crequi* to decamp, and reduce him to a neceſſity of giving Battel.

'Tis true, *Crequi* decamp'd the ſame day, but he ſo ſtrongly fortified himſelf upon a Hill within half a League of *Friburgh*, that it was a difficult thing for the Imperialiſts to attack him with any advantage. However, the Duke lying between them and *Briſack*, he thought want of Victuals would force the French Camp to alter their Ground; for that they could have no Proviſions but from *Friburgh*, and that it was not likely he would ſtarve a place which was at the ſame time threatned with a Siege. On the other ſide the Duke flattering himſelf, that while his Army was able to ſubſiſt in their Poſt, he might be able to approach *Friburgh*, he began to be full of new hopes. But the want of Proviſion being no leſs in the Imperial Army than in the French Camp, he was himſelf conſtrain'd to diſlodge, and ſee the diſappointment of all his Expectations.

It would be too tedious for me to ſet down the ſeveral Movements of both Armies; the care that *Crequi* took to prevent the Deciſion of the fate of *Friburgh* by a Battel; the great endeavours of the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the good and bad Succeſſes that befel him this Campagne. Two or three times he defeated conſiderable Parties of the Enemy; he took ſeveral Priſoners, ſome Colours, and in ſeveral Encounters put to flight great Detachements of the French Army, as in that which happen'd near the River *Kintz*, where the Marquis of *Rannes*, Colonel General of Dragoons was Slain while he was endeavou-

ring to Rally his routed Men. On the other ſide the Enemy took ſeveral Priſoners, ſome Colours, and two pieces of Artillery, and defeated Count *Starenburgh* in the Plain of *Rhinefeildt*, and having forc'd him to Retreat with the reſt of his Party, that had made a moſt noble Defence, purſu'd the Imperialiſts with ſo much vigour to the Bridge of *Rhinfeildt*, ſo that if the Governor had not pull'd up the Draw-Bridge, and Sacrific'd ſome of the Emperors Men, *Crequi* might have enter'd the Town, and made himſelf Maſter of it, as he did of the Caſtle of *Ottanburgh*, the Fort of *Kell*, the *Star Fort*, and the Iſland and Caſtle of *Lichſtenbergh*.

By which Succeſſes of the French Army this Campagne, it is apparent, that the Duke of *Lorrain* was much deceiv'd in the great Expectations, with which he flattered himſelf at the beginning of the year. However it was neither want of Courage, or through any raſh and ill conſulted Act of his own, that he fail'd in his deſigns. But there were two things that very much contributed to his ill Succeſs. The firſt was, That he never receiv'd ſo much Money as was neceſſary for the ſubſiſtance of his Men, as he highly complain'd; and for that the Emperors Miniſters, either through Treachery, or want of Foreſight, not having provided ſufficient Magazines, he was conſtrain'd to quit thoſe Poſts, wherein if he could have ſubſiſted but three or four days, he might have laid Siege to *Friburgh*, as he ſent Word to the Emperor by Count *Mansfeldt*. The Second thing, was, the little Vigour and Heart which he found in the moſt

moſt part of the Officers; which made him loſe the only opportunity that he had of giving Battel, which happen'd ſome time after the Encounter, wherein the Marquis of *Rennes* was Slain.

For *Briſgau*, where the two Armies lay, was ſo waſted, that there was no Proviſion left either for Horſe or Man. Therefore Marſhal *Crequi*, whoſe Army was in great want of both, reſolv'd to paſs the River *Kints*, beyond which there lay a fertile Plain, where he might ſubſiſt for ſome time. So ſoon as the Duke had notice of his deſign, he encamp'd himſelf upon the River ſide to hinder his paſſage, but not being able to prevent him, he remov'd to an advantageous Poſt, where he could not believe the Enemy durſt have Attack'd him, or that he had any ſuch deſign. Nevertheleſs the French General, who thought himſelf the more numerous, and was deſirous to make the beſt of ſome diſorder then in the Imperial Army, reſolv'd to hazard a Battel. And having reſted his Men for ſome time after their paſſing the River, he march'd directly toward the Imperialiſts.

The Duke, who perceiv'd the Marſhals deſign, and deſir'd nothing more than to Fight, preſently call'd a Council of War; where were preſent the Principal Officers of the Army; to whom he urg'd all the Reaſons he could, why they ought not to refuſe giving Battel. But there was not one of his Opinion; every one affirming, that it would be a great piece of Imprudence to do it, and that he muſt wait another opportunity, which he would certainly find more favourable upon the firſt remove of

the French Army. Adding withall, that if he would venture a Battel, it would be better to do it on the other ſide the *Rhine*, than in their own Country, which would become a Prey to the Enemy, ſhould they looſe the Victory; more eſpecially ſince *Crequi* could not avoid repaſſing the River for want of Proviſion. So that he was forced to retreat under the Cannon of *Offenburgh*; which fell out ill for him. For it being long before they came to this Reſult, he had no ſooner given Orders to Retreat, but Marſhal *Crequi* was at hand, and fell upon the Imperial Guards. Nevertheleſs how great ſoever the diſorder were at firſt in the Imperial Army, by reaſon they were in a quandary whether to Fight or Fly; however, at length they made good their Retreat to *Offenburgh*, and there ſecured themſelves with the loſs of about Eight Hunderd Men. The French alſo loſt as many; but notwithſtanding the equality of the loſſes, the Duke of *Lorrain* was ſtrangely dejected to ſee ſuch a failure of Reſolution in his Officers; believing that if his Advice had been followed, they had cut the French Army to pieces. But in regard the French had burnt the Bridge of *Strasburgh*, and that there was a neceſſity of making a new one, it was impoſſible for him to undertake any thing more, though he had paſs'd the River near *Philipsburgh*. All that he could do was to defeat ſome Parties, and to ſeize upon *Landau*, which in regard it was not tenable, he quitted, after the Souldiers had ſufficiently Plunder'd it. But theſe were petty Exploits in Compariſon of the Bruſhes which he receiv'd, and no way anſwerable

ſwerable to the great Hopes with which he had fill'd his Mind at the beginning of the Campagne: Inſomuch, that he acknowledged he had done nothing all the year; though it was none of his Fault that things happen'd ſo unluckily: Of which his Imperial Majeſty was fully convinc'd.

Nevertheleſs, in regard that at the ſame time, the Spaniards and Hollanders tir'd out with the Hardſhips and Expences of the War, had accepted and Sign'd the Peace upon the beſt Conditions they could get, and for that all the reſt of the Princes and States were juſt ready to do the ſame, the Emperor ſeeing that whatever Aſſiſtance he had receiv'd from the Allies, it was impoſſible for him to prevail on this ſide the *Rhine*, reſolv'd to follow the Example of *Spain*, and the States-General. Thereupon he ſent the Duke Word to repaſs the *Rhine*: upon which *Crequi*, not underſtanding his Deſign, yet fearing he had ſtill an Eye upon *Friburgh*, croſs'd the River after him: but finding him bend his March another way, he return'd back with his whole Army; and after he had Gariſon'd the Caſtle of *Lichtenbergh*, and demoliſh'd the *Star-Fort*, and that of the Iſland, both Armies took up their Winter-Quarters, in expectation of the General Peace, which by this time all the Princes had Sign'd, except the Duke of *Lorrain*, who diſdaining the Conditions, to which the King of *France* would have ſubjected him, rather choſe to live a Private Life then Sign a Treaty ſo Diſhonourable: and all Men were of Opinion that he took the beſt way.

Now

Now in regard the King of *France* would not acknowledge the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Envoys for Ambaſſadors, he never would treat with them. In ſhort, the French Ambaſſadors had only Power to treat with the five Principal Confederates, who were at War with that Crown. So that the Duke of *Lorrain*, after ſeveral Conteſts, being conſtrain'd to put himſelf, as it were, under the Wings of ſome one of the Five, referr'd all his Buſineſs to the Emperor's Miniſters. Thoſe Ambaſſadors therefore were to Stipulate for the Dukes Pretentions, and to procure a Ratification of ſuch Articles as ſhould be agreed on; becauſe they were inſerted into the Draught of the Peace between the King of *France* and their Maſter. But they were at a loſs, when they found that the Preſident-Canon had proteſted that the Duke of *Lorrain* would never Sign the Peace upon the Conditions impos'd upon him by *France*, without ſuch a Moderation as might render them acceptable. And therefore they declar'd, that ſince the Conditions were ſo hard, if the King of *France* would remit nothing of their Severity, they ought to be raz'd out of the Treaty, or a Declaration made, that they were not to be adjudg'd as compriz'd therein, in regard the Emperor could not Sign them as agreed by him. But this rais'd a new Difficulty; for that the Ambaſſadors of *France* made anſwer, That the King their Maſters Ratification which they had in their Hands, was plain and clear, and ſo the Emperor's alſo ought to be. So that after ſeveral fruitleſs Cavils and Contentions, they condeſcended to declare, That his Imperial Majeſty

Majeſty was no farther oblig'd in reference to the Articles which concern'd the Duke of *Lorrain*, then the King of *France* had declar'd himſelf to be. After which they deſir'd that the Peace between *France* and the Duke might be reſerv'd till another time; proteſting they were ready to Sign the Peace upon thoſe Conditions; which was done accordingly *Febr.* 5. 1679.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, having no more to do in *Germany*, after the concluſion of the Peace, retir'd to *Vienna*, where the Queen of *Poland* his Wife was at that time, with a deſign to ſerve the Emperor in *Hungary*, if he ſhould deem it neceſſary. For the Troubles of *Hungary* were never yet ſo well extinguiſh'd, but that there ſtill remain'd ſome Coals of Diſcontent that wanted only blowing up. In the mean time, the Duke had been ſo generous, that when he proteſted, by his Miniſters, againſt the Articles propounded to him by *France*, he caus'd them to declare at the ſame time, that his meaning was not thereby to be accompted an Enemy of *France*, much leſs of the Moſt Chriſtian King. For he had yet ſome glimmering Hopes, that the Haughty Monarch, over-ruled by the perſwaſive Dictates either of Honour or Conſcience, would at length ſurrender back his unjuſt Uſurpations. But in regard the King of *France*, when he vouchſaf'd that Peace to *Europe*, had his Deſigns, which ſince have too notoriouſly appear'd, the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Territories lay too conveniently for him, to reſtore them back under other Conditions, then thoſe which he had made himſelf. His deſign, if he could have brought it about, being

being to have made himſelf Maſter of all *Germany*, after that by the Peace of *Nimeghen*, he had broken the League that was enter'd into againſt him: and therefore of neceſſity he was to keep *Lorrain*; or if he did reſtore it to the Duke, it was to be done in ſuch a manner, that he might drive him out again when he pleas'd, as he had done the Duke his Uncle. So that the Duke of *Lorrain* was deceiv'd, to expect as he did the Reſtoration of his Country, unleſs he would reſolve to be as great a Slave in *France*, as *Charles* IV. after ſeveral Treaties which he had Sign'd.

I ſhall not ſpend time to ſhew that one of the Deſigns of *France* in the General Peace, was in concluſion to ſurprize the Empire. For the Publick Rejoycings at *Vienna* were hardly over, before the King of *France* ſeiz'd *Strasburgh*, which he diſmember'd from the Empire, and incorporated into the Crown of *France*. And by what was ſoon after diſcover'd, Monſieur *de Nantoil*'s Embaſſy to *Conſtantinople* in the year 1673, was only to make an Alliance between the Moſt Chriſtian King and the Turk, to oblige the Grand Signior to invade *Hungary*.

However it were, the Emperor having irreconciliably embroil'd himſelf with the Proteſtants of that Kingdom, by depriving them of their Churches, and the Exerciſe of their Religion, had recourſe to Prince *Abaſſi*, who ſent them Aſſiſtance at the ſame time under the Command of Count *Teckeley*, who had withdrawn himſelf into *Tranſilvania*, where he had ſo wrought himſelf into the Favour of that Prince, that in a ſhort time after he became his Prime

Prime Miniſter. After the death of Count *Paul Weſſelini*, General of the Male-Contents, *Teckeley* was advanced in his Room; and he became no leſs Formidable then *Weſſelini* had been, while the Male-Contents got ground at a very great rate. But in regard that after the Peace with *France*, the Emperor bent his whole Force againſt them; fearing therefore to be overwhelm'd with numbers, they put themſelves under the Protection of the Turks; not being able to find a ſafer Shelter from the Impending Storm, then to Shroud themſelves under the Wings of the Infidels.

Thereupon the Turks, who have always had a greater deſire to enlarge their Empire on *Hungary* ſide, then any other way, and who upon *Nantoil*'s Embaſſy, had in their Eye the Troubles in *Hungary*, and look'd upon 'em as Accidents of which they might make great Advantages, made anſwer preſently to the Male-Contents, That ſince they look'd upon them as their Protectors, they would never ſuffer 'em to be Oppreſs'd. In ſhort, although they had then a Truce with the Emperor, and that Truce were yet in force for ſome years, they forbore not however privately to aſſiſt the *Hungarians*, promiſing them withall, that for the future they would not fail to do it openly, and that under their Dominion they ſhould enjoy their Rights and Priviledges with ſo much Eaſe and Mildneſs, that they ſhould have no cauſe to repent the Change of their Fortune.

The

The Emperor, who had ſome ſuſpition at firſt that the Malecontents held Correſpondence with the Turks, made ſeveral Propoſals to the Port to renue the Truce, which was not yet expir'd by many Years; imagining by that means, that he ſhould make a full Diſcovery of their Intentions. On the other ſide, the Turks made a ſhew of being willing to renew the Truce; ſo that there ſeem'd to be a perfect good Underſtanding between the Two Empires. Nevertheleſs, at the beginning of the Year 1672. the Emperor's Reſident at *Conſtantinople* gave Advice, That the Grand Signior made ſuch vaſt Preparations for War, as could no longer be conceal'd, and that it was to be preſum'd that though thoſe Preparations were pretended only for the Succour of the Malecontents, yet the Turks had a farther Aim. Thereupon the Emperor, deſirous to be fully inform'd of what was tranſacted at the Port, ſent thither the Count *de Caprara*, under the Character of his Ambaſſador, who in a ſhort time after wrote word that the Conditions upon which the Grand Signior was willing to conſent to a Prolongation of the Truce, were ſo unjuſt, and ſo unreaſonable, that there was no queſtion but the Turks had propos'd them to hinder any Accommodation with the Malecontents, of whom they had declared themſelves to be Protectors, and from thence to derive a pretence to make War upon *Hungary*. Nor was this all: For the Turks ſent New Propoſitions, which the Emperor found leſs proper to be receiv'd than the former. And while they were Negotiating the Renewing of the Treaty, the Turks ſent conſiderable

derable Forces to the Malecontents, who made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Places, and *Teckeley* was by the Grand Signior declared Prince of *Hungary*.

In ſhort, the Emperor was aſſur'd at laſt, that the Preparations which were made at *Conſtantinople*, and other parts of the *Ottoman* Empire, exceeded all that had been made againſt Chriſtendom for above theſe Hundred Years before; that the Grand Signior had declared War againſt *Hungary*; that he was to go himſelf to *Belgrade*; that to give Notice that his departure was reſolv'd upon, he had given Order for the Horſe-Tails to be ſet over the Gates of the *Seraglio*; and in a ſhort time after he receiv'd certain Intelligence that the *Ottoman* Army was upon its March. So that it was concluded at the Emperor's Court, that the Turks had ſome extraordinary Deſign, if it were not to beſiege *Vienna* it ſelf.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, who was newly recover'd from a Fit of Sickneſs, which had held him all the Winter, could not go the Year before into *Hungary*, where his Preſence would have been highly neceſſary. But being now in a ſettled Condition of Health, he had Orders to prepare for the next Campagne, and to joyn the Imperial Forces at *Presburgh*, where there was to be a General Muſter. The Emperor arrived there the Sixth of *May* 1683. where he had caus'd the whole Army to be drawn up in Order of Battel in the Plains of *Kitts*, and after a General Review, conferr'd the Command of all his Forces upon the Duke: which drew upon him the Envy of many, in regard there were

were ſeveral other Princes who flatter'd themſelves that the Emperor would have honour'd Them with that High Dignity, before the Duke.

The Turks were already advanc'd as far as *Belgrade*, when the Emperor declar'd the Duke of *Lorrain* General of his Army. Now therefore in regard the Turks were tir'd with a long March, and that it requir'd ſome time to reſt themſelves, the Duke having above Forty Thouſand Men at his Heels, reſolv'd to attempt the ſurprize of ſome conſiderable Place, before the Infidels were in Condition to oppoſe him; knowing well, that afterwards he ſhould be forc'd to be upon the Defenſive part only; and conſidering beſides that if he prov'd Fortunate in gaining ſuch Places as he had an Eye upon, they would be ſerviceable to ſecure *Vienna*, or at leaſt to put a ſtop for ſome time to the Siege.

Now there was only *Gran* or *Newhauſel* that the Duke could Attack. He therefore reſolv'd upon the firſt Place, which he look'd upon as the more eaſie Enterprize. And ſo marching at the ſame time toward *Raab*, he prepar'd to ſit down before *Gran*, of which he had before tak'n a view in Perſon. But then he was informed that the Turks had not only reinforced the Gariſon with freſh Succours, but that the Grand Vizir bent his March toward *Buda* with a conſiderable Army. So that fearing the ſucceſs of that Enterprize, he gave it quite over. Nevertheleſs it being requiſite that he ſhould begin the Campagne with ſome Remarkable Action, he had no ſooner alter'd his Reſolution as to *Gran*, but he laid ſiege to *Newhauſel*.

The

The Baſſa who commanded in that Town had ſent away ſuch numerous Detachements to ſtrengthen *Gran*, that he began to queſtion his Ability to reſiſt the Imperial Army. Being therefore at a puzzle himſelf, he reſolv'd to try whether he could put the Duke to a ſtand. Thereupon he ſent him word, that if he undertook the Siege of *Newhauſel*, he muſt be anſwerable for the Rupture of the Truce between the two Empires. But the Duke laught at his Contrivance: So that the Baſſa ſeeing his Stratagem would not take, preſently hung out white and red Colours, to ſignifie an offer either of Peace or War; yet withal to ſhew, that he was rather inclin'd to Peace than War. But all theſe Devices prov'd ineffectual: for the Duke advancing with his Army, laid cloſe Siege to the Town.

The beginning of the Enterprize was ſucceſsful enough; for three or four days after the Imperial Army had paſſed the *Neckar*, the City was begirt; the great Guns were upon the Battery ready to Play; and the Duke had ſent the Baſſa a Summons. To which the Baſſa return'd a haughty Anſwer, That he ſhould underſtand what Perſons they were to whom the Grand Signior entruſted his Gariſons; and having taken ſome Priſoners in a Sally which he made to his loſs, after he had immediately put them to Death, he hung up their Heads over the Walls of the Town. Nevertheleſs, that was ſo far from diſcouraging the Beſiegers who had ſerv'd the Turks which they took Priſoners after the ſame manner, that they had

carried on their Works ſo far, that they were juſt ready to open their Trenches. But then it was that the Duke received Orders to raiſe the Siege, upon certain Intelligence which the Emperor ſent him, that the Grand Viſier was advancing with all the ſpeed he could toward *Newhauſel* with an Army of above Two hundred thouſand Men; ſo that the Duke was conſtrain'd to riſe from before the Town.

Moſt certain it is, that the Duke was very much troubled to abandon a Victory of which he thought himſelf ſecure. But it was a Misfortune, for which there was no Remedy. For in ſhort, the Grand Signior himſelf came to *Belgrade*; where the Grand Viſier receiv'd from his Hands the Standard which the Turks believe was given to *Mahomet* by the Angel *Gabriel*. And then it was that the Ottoman Army, conſiſting of ſeveral ſorts of Nations march'd with ſo much ſpeed, that the Duke was in danger of being ſurpriz'd. All that he could do in the Extremity to which he was reduc'd, was to lodge as many of his Foot as it was poſſible in certain Houſes about a quarter of a League from *Newhauſel*, to favour his Retreat: after which, he beat a March, and retreated towards *Comorra*; which he reinforced with a conſiderable Relief. Nevertheleſs, in regard the Turks advanc'd, he continu'd his March to the Iſland of *Schutt*, and having paſs'd the *Raab* upon a Bridge which he caus'd to be laid over the River, he encamp'd in a very Advantageous Poſt. Which he had no ſooner done, but the Enemy appear'd,

pear'd, and encamp'd between *Alba Regalis* and the City of *Raab*, there being only the River from whence the Town derives its Name between both Armies: which caus'd a very great Conſternation at firſt among the Imperialiſts.

While the two Armies lay looking one upon another, the Tartars, who made up a Body of Thirty thouſand Men under the Command of their Cham, having drawn out a very numerous Detachement, ſwam the River, and ravag'd all before 'em with Fire and Sword as far as the River *Leithe*, which ſeparates *Hungary* from *Auſtria*. Which Incurſion of thoſe Barbarians, together with the Horrible Cruelties which they committed, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, put the Duke into a deep ſtudy what courſe to take. For beſides, that the Forces which he had remaining with him, after ſo many great Detachements which he had been forc'd to part with, to reinforce the Gariſons of *Raab* and *Comorra* were reduced to no more than Four and twenty Thouſand Men, he could not without imminent Danger expoſe himſelf to be environ'd by the Enemy, and Attack'd on every ſide: and therefore after he had call'd a Council of War, he diſlodg'd from his Poſt, and retreated toward *Vienna*, though not without ſome difficulty.

The Army was upon its March toward the Iſland of *Schutt*, when the Duke receiv'd Intelligence, that the Turks had alſo Decamp'd, and that Six thouſand Hungarians of the Emperor's Forces, commanded by the Counts of *Dralkowitz*

witzs and *Budiani*, who guarded a conſiderable Paſs, were gone over to the Male-Contents, and had left the Paſs open to the Turks. This News ſtrook an extraordinary terror into the Imperialiſts; but that which augmented their Conſternation was this, that beſides that the Parties which were ſent out to diſcover the Enemy, return'd in great diſorder, and ſometimes without half their number, they heard that the Turks Burnt all before 'em, and exercis'd unheard of Hoſtilities. And the Conſternation was ſo general, that the Duke had much ado to get his Detachements to venture out, to obſerve the Enemy. Nevertheleſs his Army ſtill advanc'd, and march'd in very good order. But upon advice that the Enemy was within a League of a River which the Army was to croſs, the Cavalry retreated to avoid the Fury of the Turks and forſook the Foot, notwithſtanding all that the Officers could do to hinder 'em. The Duke did all that could be expected from a Perſon of his Courage and Experience to bring back the Cowardly Fugitives; but while he was uſing all imaginable Perſwaſions to make them ſenſible of their Honour and their Duty, the Enemy had already overtaken and fallen upon his Rear-guard, ſo that all he had now to do was to ſave his Foot. And firſt of all the Baggage belonging to the Duke of Saxon *Lawenbergh*, Prince *Louis* of *Baden*, Count *Caprara* and *Montecuculi* were Plundred, and the Waggoners and Guards cut to pieces; and the ſame Troops animated with their number, and the flight of the Imperial Cavalry, began

gan to fall upon the Imperial Infantry, and make a moſt horrible Slaughter. But the Duke, who gave himſelf over for loſt, and was reſolv'd to die like a Great General, or ſave his Infantry, after he had encourag'd the Officers to follow him, made his way through the thickeſt of his Enemies to their Relief; upon which the Infantry, that were juſt ready to give ground, and to which ſome of the Horſe had by this time joyn'd, animated by the Example of their General, fought with that fury, that the Turks who never expected ſuch an Alteration, and were for the moſt part buſie in packing up the Booty which they got, were ſo amaz'd, that they betook themſelves to flight; and the Duke having brought off his Men, let 'em go, not thinking it ſafe to purſue them; but purſuing his March, got ſafe at length to the Iſland of *Leopolſtadt* under the Canon of *Vienna*, where the reſt of the Cavalry waited for him.

And now the firſt thing which the Turks did after the Duke's Retreat, was to lay Siege to *Raab*. But the Grand Viſier, looking upon the winning of that Conqueſt not to be worth his while, left the Care of that Siege to the Baſſa of *Buda*, and march'd directly for *Vienna*. But the Siege of that City was a thing of too great Conſequence to be undertaken without conſidering well beforehand. The Grand Viſier therefore call'd a Council of War to conſult upon this Enterprize; where moſt were for deferring the Siege of *Vienna* till the next Campagne, and continuing the Siege of *Raab*, the winning of which would reduce *Comorra*, while

the Tartars waſted all *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, that the Chriſtians might have no ſubſiſtance in thoſe Countries. This Counſel proceeded from a wonderful Prudence, and Foreſight; and might have prov'd fatal to Chriſtendom had the Grand Viſier follow'd it. But he, being deſirous to make himſelf famous by this Enterprize, and confiding in the number of his Men, was of a quite contrary opinion. His Officers did all they could to diſſwade him from this Deſign, but nothing would prevail. The ſeveral Detachements which he had been forc'd to ſend abroad to obſerve the Enemy, the Forces which he had left before *Raab*, the Volant Camp which he had in *Upper Hungary*, and the Loſſes he had ſuſtain'd in ſeveral Encounters had very much weaken'd the Ottoman Army. But neither the wary Counſel of his Officers, nor the Diminution of his Forces could move him from his firſt Reſolutions.

And now no ſooner was the Grand Viſier ſet forward, but the Tartars advanc'd within two Leagues of *Vienna*, where they defeated ſome Regiments, and ſet fire to ſeveral Villages. And this News of the Turks March, together with the continual Ravages committed by the Tartars, caus'd the Emperor to quit *Vienna*. Which he did, together with all his Court, and retir'd to *Lintz*, from whence he departed for *Paſſau*, ſo ſoon as he heard that the Turks had formally Beſieged *Vienna*.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, who lay encamp'd till then in the Iſland of *Leopolſtadt* with his Horſe, and thought not to have ſtirr'd from thence,

alter'd

alter'd his Mind, and reſolv'd to paſs his Men over four Bridges that were next *Moldavia*. This Reſolution was no ſooner taken, and he already upon his March, but a great Body of Turks and Tartars approach'd the Bridges, and began to follow him at the Heels. But the Duke would not be ſo ſurpriz'd. He immediately ſent away General *Schultz*, with a conſiderable Detachement, which after an obſtinate Fight, repuls'd the Enemy. After which he encamp'd beyond the Bridges of the *Danaw*. Now they that did not ſee to the bottom of the Duke's Deſigns, cry'd out, That the Prince ought not to have quitted the Iſland of *Leopolſtadt*, and that it behov'd him to have preſerv'd the Bridges which he was forc'd to break down. In regard that by that means he had preſerv'd a Communication from *Vienna* with the Emperor; and that it had been eaſie, had that Place been preſerv'd, to have reliev'd the City with Succours of Men and Proviſions at any time. But there was a Neceſſity that the Duke ſhould betake himſelf to the Plain Country with his Horſe.

And now the Emperor ſeeing the Turks ſo eagerly preſs on the Siege, and not finding himſelf in a Condition to relieve the City, in regard he had not a ſufficient Strength, he diſpatch'd away ſeveral Couriers to the King of *Poland*, to deſire his Aſſiſtance, and to come himſelf at the Head of his Army. This Noble and Great Prince, the Terror of the *Ottomans*, importun'd by the Pope's Nuncio, but much more ſpurr'd on by his own vaſt Courage and

Generoſity, wrote back to the Emperor that he might depend upon him, and that though at preſent he were not in War with the Turk, he would march to his Aid, and endeavour to be at *Vienna* by the end of *September*.

Though this were but a ſhort time, and that it was impoſſible for the King of *Poland* to make more haſte than what he promis'd, it would be too tedious to relate the Progreſs which the Grand Viſier had made, who had already open'd his Trenches in three ſeveral Places, and threaten'd the Count of *Starenbergh*, Covernor of the City, to put all to the Sword, young and old, unleſs he Surrender'd.

In the mean time, while the Beſieged made moſt deſperate Sallies, and hindred as much as in them lay, the Enemy from advancing his Works, the Duke of *Lorrain* lay not idle. He wrote Letters to Count *Starenbergh*, which he receiv'd the 22d of *Auguſt*, wherein he aſſur'd the Governor, who ſignaliz'd himſelf to a wonder, during the Siege, that the Forces deſign'd for his Relief, were drawing together with all ſpeed; that the Bavarians, Saxons, Franconians, Polanders and Imperialiſts, were come as far as *Krembs*. That the King of *Poland* in Perſon, together with the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, made all the haſt that was poſſible to be with him; that the Emperor himſelf, to be near *Vienna*, was remov'd to *Lintz*; and that he had nothing more to do but to make a ſtout Reſiſtance till the Succors could come

come up to his Relief; which would certainly be toward the end of the Month; That he would expoſe himſelf to all manner of Dangers; and endeavour all that lay in his Power, rather than abandon *Vienna*; That he had defeated Count *Teckeley* near *Presburgh*, taken all his Baggage, and Burnt and Sunk all the Boats that were prepar'd for the laying Bridges over the *Waag*; that he had reduc'd *Presburgh* under the Emperor's Obedience; and that he had obtain'd another Victory over Count *Teckeley*, taken ſix Colours, and routed the beſt part of his Army.

It is impoſſible to relate the extraordinary Actions which the Duke perform'd, while he ſtaid for the Succors that were advancing toward *Vienna*: his Vigilance to fruſtrate the Deſigns of the Male-Contents who endeavour'd to way-lay the *Polonians*; and the Advantages he won over the Turks and Tartars, whenever he came to any Engagement with them, as he frequently did. It may be ſaid that he was in a kind of perpetual Motion; that he ſtrook Dread and Terror into the the Enemy wherever he appear'd; and that it was he indeed, who deliver'd *Vienna*, by diſtracting the Enemies Forces in ſuch a Manner, that he could never reinforce his Camp. For the Duke either kept the Principal Paſſes, or elſe conſtrain'd the Ottomans and Hungarians to defend their own Poſts, and waſted their Numbers with continual Skirmiſhes.

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But while thus the Duke kept the Turks and Hungarians in continual Employment, the Grand Viſier us'd all his Endeavours to make himſelf Maſter of *Vienna*, and the Beſieged on the other ſide defended themſelves as Bravely. So that although the Turks had layn a long time before the City, they were ſo weaken'd by Diſeaſes, that ſwept away great Numbers of their Men, ſo diſtreſs'd for want of Proviſions, ſo annoy'd by the continual Rains, and had been ſo conſum'd by the frequent Sallies which the Count of *Starenbergh* made, that they almoſt deſpair'd of Succeſs. And the Principal Officers carried away with an Opinion of Predeſtination to which the Turks are extreamly addicted, werebecome ſo ſottiſh and inſenſible, that though they had Intelligence every hour, that the King of *Poland* was advanciug, and had joyn'd the Duke of *Lorrain's* Army, yet they took little notice of it; and they had ſuffer'd themſelves to have been ſurpriz'd, if the taking of two Meſſengers which the Emperor diſpatch'd to Count *Starenbergh*, to let him know, that the Polanders were within three days March of *Vienna*, had not awaken'd the Grand Viſier, who always flatter'd himſelf that he ſhould take the Place before any Relief could come; but began to be out of heart upon the Approach of the King of *Poland*.

The Baſſa of *Buda*, at a Council of War which the Grand Viſier call'd, was of Opinion, that they were not to ſtay till the Polanders came to force their Camp; but that it was the beſt

beſt way to draw off the Janiſaries out of the Trenches, to cut down the Woods adjoyning, and lay the Trees croſs the Highways; to make a deep Entrenchment covered with Earth, wherein to lodge the Foot, and raiſe a great Battery; that there was no other way to ſtop the King of *Poland*; and that then the Beſieged would immediately Capitulate; but that it was a vain thing to hazard the Storming of the City, when they had no expectation of any Reinforcement, to ſupply the loſs of their Men. And indeed, what the Baſſa ſaid was ſpoken like a wary and judicious Captain, but the Grand Viſier oppos'd his Advice.

In the mean time the King of *Poland* receiving News every Moment of the bad Condition of the City, haſten'd his march with that extraordinary Diligence, that he arriv'd toward the beginning of *September* at *Helbrune*, which is not above Four Leagues from *Vienna*. And the Duke of *Lorrain* had ſo ordered his Affairs that the Polanders, and his Army join'd without any oppoſition. All this while the Count *de Starenbergh* finding himſelf preſt upon by the Beſiegers, gave notice to the Duke by the continual throwing of Squibs, of the neceſſity he was in; and the Duke Anſwer'd by other Signals agreed upon, that Relief was at hand. In ſhort, all the Forces deſign'd for the Succour of *Vienna*, being joyn'd, the King of *Poland* march'd at the Head of the Chriſtian Army, with a Reſolution to force the Infidels in their Camp; for all the Chriſtians being joyn'd together, made up an Army of about a Hunderd Thouſand Men.

On

On the other ſide, the Grand Viſier, who expected no leſs than to be aſſail'd by the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, with a more than ordinary fury, and who prepar'd to make as deſperate a Reſiſtance, found he had no Reſolution to ſpare, when he underſtood the ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and ſaw their Vanguard appear upon a Hill. He then began to repent that he had not follow'd the Baſſa of *Buda*'s Advice; but it was then too late. But the Baſſa of *Adrianople*, obſerving his perplexed and dubious Countenance, adviz'd him to raiſe the Siege, and to Retreat with his Men toward *Newhauſel*; as *Solyman* the great had formerly done upon the ſame occaſion. But the Grand Viſier, whether out of Preſumption, or Deſpair, would not liſten to his Counſel. He told the Baſſa, that the Beſieged were reduc'd to the laſt Extreamity, and that it was impoſſible for them to hold out three days; and as for the Relief which appear'd, he ſaid Haughtily, That they were not to be fear'd: That beſides that, the Poliſh Army could not but be extreamly tir'd, the Polanders had more of the falſe Bravado, than true Courage: That for the Imperialiſts, he already underſtood 'em well enough, and that there was no Body among 'em but the General of the Chriſtians, ſpeaking of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had any Wit or Courage: And in a Word, That he would rather chooſe to Die with his Sword in his Hand, than be bow ſtring'd by a Mute, or live in Ignominy and Diſgrace.

With

With this Reſolution he put himſelf into a poſture to meet the Chriſtians; and having left about Twenty Thouſand Men before the City, that made continual Attempts upon it, he ſet forward with his Army in Three Bodies, to make Head againſt the Chriſtians, who came on alſo in Three Lines.

For the King of *Poland* had entruſted the Duke of *Lorrain* with the Conduct of the whole Army; who guided it ſo ſafely, leading his Men through places where they were ſtill ſecur'd from the onſets of the Enemy, that might have eaſily ſtopt their Advance, but for the extraordinary Prudence of the General, that ſo ſoon as they were got down a Hill, at the foot of which the Grand Signiors Army was drawn up in Battel Array, they were preſently in a poſture to Fight. The Conflict for three Hours was ſharp and Bloody; for all the Chriſtian Officers, as well as common Soldiers, fought with no leſs Emulation than Courage: Only this applauſe was given to the Duke, That he exceeded all the reſt.

Thus at length, the Ottomans were forc'd to give Ground, and had not Night come on too faſt, which favour'd their Retreat, they had been utterly defeated: However, they return'd to their Camp ſo diſorder'd and ſhatter'd, that not believing themſelves ſafe there, ſo ſoon as it was dark they betook themſelves to a total flight. And their Conſternation was ſo great, and their flight ſo precipitate, that they left behind 'em all their Tents, the greateſt part of their

their Baggage, all their Ammunition, all their Artillery, and the Standard of the Ottoman Empire, with the Horſe Tails, which are the Marks of the Grand Viſiers abſolute Power in the Turkiſh Armies. For they relate a Story, how that the Turks having loſt their Chief Standard in a Battel againſt the Chriſtians; the Viſier perceiving, that upon that loſs, his Army began to fly, with his Scimitar preſently cut of a Horſes Tail, and holding it up faſten'd to a half Pike, cry'd out, *See here the Chief Standard*; upon which the Souldiers recover'd new Courage, and rally'd again to a ſecond Charge. Since which time the Grand Viſiers have always a Horſe Tail faſtned to the Banners which are carry'd before them, or elſe ſet up over the Doors of their Tents, as a Mark of their Authority. Be it as it will, the Turks left the Chief Standard behind them, the loſs of which is lookt upon by the Superſtitious Turks as an infallible Omen of the decay of their Empire: And the Grand Viſier, who was left almoſt a lone, was fain to make his eſcape without his Veſt, while his Men fled all before to *Raab*, without looking back, till they had rid Five and Twenty long Leagues in a Night and Day; and joyn'd themſelves with the reſt of their Army that blockt up that place.

The next day the Duke of *Lorrain* ſent to Congratulate the King of *Poland* for the Victory which the Chriſtian Army had won from the Infidels; ordering withal the Meſſenger to tell him, That the Succeſs of that memorable Battel

Battel was entirely due to him, and that it was not the firſt time that his Preſence had been a Terrour to thoſe Barbarians. But the King of *Poland*, who had been a Witneſs, as well of the Dukes Performances, as of the Actions of the other Generals, return'd him for Anſwer, That it was a Victory wherein the whole Army had a ſhare; but nevertheleſs, that the Honour of it was due to his Conduct, and the Reſolution of the Germans, who were the firſt within the Camp and Trenches of the Enemy. Nor was it any of the Dukes fault, that the Turks were not immediately purſu'd. But the King of *Poland* found his Army ſo tir'd, that he thought it but requiſite to reſt 'em for ſome few days. In a Word, the Polanders enter'd the Grand Viſiers Camp the ſame day the Turks quitted it, and began to Pillage; and then the Imperialiſts following their Example, they continued Pillaging all the next day. And indeed there were few People in *Vienna* that did not go out to ſee what purchaſe they could meet with in a Camp where the Turks had left infinite Riches behind 'em. The King of *Poland* went in to view the Grand Viſiers Tents, which took up as much Ground as the City of *Warſovia*; where you might alſo ſee Gardens, and large Canals, and whatever elſe could be deſir'd in a great City. The King alſo lay there one Night; and from thence it was, that he wrote a Letter to the Queen, wherein after he had given her an accompt of what he had met with moſt coſtly in thoſe Magnificent Tents, he merrily added this Expreſſion. *You ſhall not ſay*

to

to me as the Tartarian Women ſay to their Husbands when they return home from the Army with empty Hands; You are no Man, you return without Booty; *For I ſhall returu with ſo many coſtly Spoils, that you ſhall acknowledge I was in the Fight.*

THE

THE LIFE OF Charles V.

DUKE of Lorrain & Bar, And *Generaliſſimo* of all the Imperial Forces.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

HAD the Opinion of the Duke of *Lorrain* been followed, the Turks were in ſuch a Conſternation, and in ſo ill a Condition to Defend themſelves, that they had been all cut in Pieces. But during the two or three days, that the Chriſtian Army lay and did nothing, and that the King of *Poland* and the other Generals lay in

Vienna, or elſe were viſiting the Grand-Viſiers Tents, the Ottoman Forces who were fled in diſorder, having had time to recover and rally themſelves, put Relief into other Places that might have eaſily been ſurprized, and at length ſecured themſelves from the farther Enterprizes of their Enemies.

All Men agree, that the Victorious Army knew not how to make the beſt of their Advantage; ſince they might have ſecured all *Hungary* to the Emperor, and puſht on their Conqueſts to a far larger extent. The Duke of *Lorrain* was vex'd to the very Soul to ſee himſelf conſtrained out of Complaiſance, to ſubmit to the Advice of a Prince who had left his Kingdom, expos'd his own and the Lives of his Subjects for the good of Chriſtendom, and who in the laſt place had put to flight a numerous and formidable Army, who was almoſt within a hairs breadth of Victory, and entring Triumphant into *Vienna*. On the other ſide, the King of *Poland*, who perceived by the Event, that the Duke had Reaſon of his ſide, could not forbear letting the Emperor ſee how much he was troubled for the Miſcarriage. For after he had told his Imperial Majeſty at their firſt Enterview, what time the Emperor returned him Thanks for the Signal Victory he had won, that all the Honour of that Victory was due to God, and that he had done nothing upon that Occaſion but what became a Chriſtian Prince; He added, that he was much troubled that he could not proſecute his Victory by a vigorous purſuit of the Enemy; but that the continued March of his Men for three days and three nights together

gether over ſteep Mountains and deep Valleys, through unfrequented and craggy Ways, without Baggage, which he was forc'd to leave behind, had ſo wearied and worn out his Army for want of Victuals and Forrage, that he was conſtrain'd to give them a repoſe of two or three days to refreſh themſelves, and enable them for farther Service towards the entire ruin of the Infidels.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Meaſures, who aſpir'd to nothing leſs than the utter Deſtruction of the *Ottoman* Forces, were broken; and that which put them totally out of order, was this, That ſome of the Confederates, believing that they had done enough in contributing toward the Relief of *Vienna*, began to talk of returning home, and the Elector of *Saxony* drew off in good earneſt with his Men; and ſome other Princes were juſt upon following his Example, which would never have ſo fallen out, if by a ſpeedy March all the Chriſtian Princes had been engag'd to purſue the Victory.

And indeed the Duke of *Lorrain*, rightly apprehending and fearing that his Deſigns would all miſcarry, if the Confederate Princes ſhould forſake him, labour'd ſo indefatigably to engage thoſe Princes not to abandon the Emperor at ſuch an Important Conjuncture, that excepting the Elector of *Saxony*, all the reſt of the Princes were determin'd to continue the Campagne. However Things fell out quite otherwiſe.

At firſt they talk'd of Dividing the Army into ſeveral Bodies, to be employed at the

ſame time upon ſeveral Expeditions; and there were ſeveral Meetings and Conferences to this purpoſe. But in regard there was nothing concluded upon, the Duke, whoſe thoughts were wholly bent to make his beſt Advantage of the remaining part of the Summer, made all the Propoſals which he thought moſt favourable either for Reducing of *Hungary*, or laying Siege to ſome ſtrong Town.

It was impoſſible to foreſee where the Turks deſign'd to make a ſtand; and therefore the Duke was of Opinion, That the Chriſtians ſhould go and find 'em out. And his Advice being approved by his Imperial Majeſty and the King of *Poland*, the Poliſh and Imperial Armies ſet forward upon the 18th, and two days after encamped near *Presburgh*, there to ſtay for the Confederate Forces which had promis'd to joyn them. But they having altered their Reſolutions, while their Captains for particular Reaſons of their own, lay demurring whither they ſhould ſtay in their Camp near *Vienna*, or return home; the King of *Poland* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, having agreed among themſelves for the Undertaking ſome conſiderable Enterprize, without the reſt of the Confederates, in caſe of delay, or their retiring Home, reſolved to continue their March, and Encamp'd the 2d of *October* at *Weſwar*, which is not far diſtant from *Comorra*. There they had Intelligence, that Count *Teckeley*, with the Forces of the Male-Contents, was at *Levents*. That the Body of the Turkiſh Army lay near *Buda*; that the Grand Viſier had ſent a conſiderable Detachment toward *Gran*; and that he had put

put Four Thouſand Men into *Newhauſel*, to ſtrengthen that Gariſon. But the Seaſon was ſo far advanced, and the Country withal ſo bare, and conſequently in ſo bad a Condition to afford Subſiſtance for the Army; the Gariſons in both thoſe Places ſo numerous, and in a word, the Enterprize ſo hazardous, by reaſon that the Confederates did not come up, that the Duke, after mature Deliberation, was of opinion, that to aſſure himſelf of *Gran* and *Newhauſel*, it was the beſt way to Attack the Fort of *Barcam*, which ſtands at the Head of the Bridge belonging to the firſt of thoſe two Places; to which the King of *Poland* readily conſented.

While they were preparing to put this Deſign in Execution, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* joyn'd the Army with the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Infantry: which Reinforcement giving them freſh Life and Courage, they began to croſs the *Waag*. The Cavalry encamp'd the ſame day upon the Banks of that ſame Arm of the *Danaw*, ſtaying for thoſe other Troops which had not yet paſſed the River. The Duke alſo waited for the Infantry, to the end the Army might march in a Body toward *Barcam*, and perform ſome remarkable Atchievement. And he reckon'd upon it, that the next day, which was the 8th, the whole Army would be ready to ſet forward, in regard Count *Starembergh*, who Commanded the Infantry, had Orders to joyn the Army that day. But the King of *Poland* anticipated the Time; for he ſent word that he was already upon his March to Attack the Place, which they had agreed to Aſſail, and therefore deſir'd

him to follow with all expedition. Which alteration of the K. of *Poland*'s Reſolution did not a little ſurprize the Duke: and tho' he prepar'd himſelf to March, nevertheleſs he ſent before the Count *de Dunewald* to the King to let him know the Neceſſity of ſtaying for the Infantry, and the Danger they ſhould bring themſelves into by ſeperating their Forces, when they were ſo near the Armies, both of the Turks and Male-Contents and almoſt at the Gates of their ſtrong Holds. But the Count found the King already on Horſeback, who gave him this Anſwer, That being aſſured that the Detachement of the Turks toward *Barcam*, was not conſiderable, he ſaw no Inconvenience that could happen by continuing his March. So that the Duke perceiving the King's Reſolution, was conſtrain'd to follow, leaving only a Regiment of *Croats* to attend the Foot.

But the King of *Poland* was ſooner advanc'd within an Hours March of *Barcam*, but he was informed by ſome of the firſt Troops of his Vanguard, that ſome Squadrons of the Enemy appear'd. Upon which, he ordered a Detachement to repel them; which was vigorouſly done, while the Turkiſh Cavalry gave ground; but being ſeconded by a greater Number, the Poliſh Troops that fell on firſt were repulſed themſelves; to whoſe relief the King at the ſame time ſent ſome other Squadrons. And now the Fight being equal, he advanced himſelf with all his Horſe: But then it was, that the Body of the Enemies Cavalry, to the Number of between Seven and Eight Thouſand Men, which till then lay cover'd behind a great Hill,

Hill, appeared when the King leaſt dreamt of their being ſo near. So that before the Polanders could put themſelves into Order of Battel, they were Charged ſo briskly both in Front and Flank, that they were conſtrain'd to fly, and leave behind them their Baggage, and ſome Colours.

The Duke of *Lorrain* being informed that the Enemy was Engaged with the Polanders, haſten'd to their Aid. But he ſoon found upon his Arrival, that the Poliſh Horſe were utterly Broken, and that the Turks purſued them cloſe at the Heels. The firſt thing therefore that he did, was to range the foremoſt of the Imperial Troops; which he had no ſooner done, but he advanced toward the Enemy, and his appearance put them into ſuch a Conſternation, that they immediately betook themſelves to flight, and retir'd under the Guns of *Barcam*. The King of *Poland* was ſo far advanced, and in many places ſo openly expoſed, on purpoſe to encourage his Men by his own Example, that for ſome time 'twas thought he had been taken by the Infidels; for he was one of the laſt that retreated, and that a long time too after the Duke of *Lorrain* had routed the Ottoman Troops. And indeed ſuch was the Terror that ſtill continued among the Polanders, notwithſtanding their Fortnuate Reſcue, that the Preſence of the King, who was thought to have been taken Priſoner, could not quite recover 'em out of the Amaze they were in. The Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, and the Hazards they had run, had ſo terrified their Senſes, that the Principal Officers of the Army

gan to perſwade the King to alter his Deſign of Attacking *Baream*, and to bethink himſelf of taking up his Winter Quarters. Upon which the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had ſome Intimation what Counſel the King had given him, preſently haſten'd to his Quarters, where the Reaſons he alleadged for the eaſie making themſelves Maſters of that Fort, were ſo prevalent and convincing, that a Reſolution was taken to Attack the Fort, and to that purpoſe to March the next day.

But the ſame Night, his Majeſty of *Poland* having received Intelligence, that the Turkiſh Detachement had been reinforced by ſome Bodies Commanded by the Baſſa's of *Aleppo*, and other Places, and fearing that thoſe Troops were followed by the reſt of the Ottoman Army, began to deliberate anew upon the Enterprize ſo lately reſolv'd upon. Till the Duke having made it manifeſtly appear to him, that the Enemies whole Army could not poſſibly be arrived before *Baream*, and that though it were, yet there was no reaſon for that to alter the Deſign, they determined at laſt to Attack it, and march'd toward the Enemy, at the Head of both Armies. Nor did the Turks, who were Drawn up in a Plain, ſtay till they were Attackt themſelves, but briskly gave the firſt Charge upon the Left Wing of the Polanders with ſo much Bravery, that the whole Wing began to give ground. But the Duke of *Lorrain* having quitted his Lines, to fly to their Succor, rallied them with ſo much ſpeed, and being himſelf at the Head of ſome German Horſe, fell upon the Enemy with that fury, that

that being well ſeconded by the Polanders, he put them to a total Rout, and Count *de Dunewald* having Orders to purſue them, they were chac'd to the Gates of *Barcam*, with a Loſs far greater than that which the Grand Viſier ſuſtain'd at *Vienna*. For beſides the dreadful Slaughter of the Turks in the Battel, one of the Bridges over which the Fugitives crouded to get into the Fort, falling down with the weight of the Throng, an infinite Number were Drowned in the *Danaw*.

This Opportunity was too favourable, not to make the beſt of it immediately. Therefore the Chriſtian Army advanced, and the Duke cauſed a Battery to be raiſed, from whence the Chriſtians play'd ſo furiouſly upon the Fort, that the Gariſon hung out a white Flag, deſired to Capitulate, and Surrendred upon Compoſition. However that could not prevent the Polonians from cutting the Gariſon in pieces, which very much troubled the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had received the Capitulation.

'Tis thought that of Fourteen or Fifteen Thouſand Turks that were advanced for the Relief of *Barcam*, there hardly Eſcaped Four Thouſand, and that there were above a Thouſand Priſoners taken, among whom were two Baſſa's, and ſome Aga's of Janiſaries*.

After this, the Duke of *Lorrain*, perceiving the Succeſs of the Emperor's Arms, reſolved to Beſiege *Gran*, before he put an end to the Campaign, to which the King of *Poland* alſo agreed. And all things being prepared for that Enterprize, they began to croſs the *Danaw* over Bridges which were laid for that purpoſe.

When

**The Fort of* Barcam *Surrendred to the D. of* Lorrain *the 9th of* October, 1683. *within leſs than a Month after the Siege of* Vienna.

When that Reſolution was taken, all the Grand Viſier's Army lay encamped about *Buda*; not any of the Enemies Forces appearing near *Gran*. But then the Turks apprehenſive by the March of the Chriſtians, that they were going to Beſiege that Town, ſent ſome Detachements to relieve it in caſe of Neceſſity; which, together with the Report that the Ottoman Army was above Fourſcore Thouſand ſtrong, made the King of *Poland* reſolve to quit his Deſign of the Siege; which was a very great Affliction to the Duke. For though he thought himſelf ſtrong enough alone with the Emperor's Forces, and thoſe of the Confederates under his Command, to reduce that Place in a ſhort time, yet he was willing to Careſs the King of *Poland*'s Aſſiſtance. For in ſhort, beſides that it would have been a too Scornful oppoſing the Advice of a Prince, to whom the Emperor was ſo many ways obliged, the Turks and Male-Contents could not but have made a great Advantage of ſuch a Separation of the two Armies.

In this Confuſion of Thoughts, there was no Stone which the Duke left unturn'd to regain the K. of *Poland*, & thoſe of his Council to the Approbation of his Deſign. Wherein at firſt he met with ſome Difficulties; but he manag'd his Buſineſs ſo Prudently, and alledged ſuch convincing Reaſons, that at length the King conſented to concur with him in his Deſires.

Now in regard it was a Matter of the higheſt Importance imaginable not to loſe time, becauſe the Seaſon was already far advanc'd, and for that beſides, there was a neceſ-

ſity

ſity of taking the Advantage of the King of *Poland*'s kind Inclinations, while he was in the Humour, the Duke of *Lorrain* caus'd his Forces to advance forthwith, and order'd them in the firſt place to poſſeſs themſelves of three Poſts, from whence they might batter the Caſtle. The Poliſh Army lodg'd it ſelf on the other ſide, and both Armies raiſed their own Batteries; by which means, within two days after the Siege was laid, they preſs'd with ſo much Vigor, and ſo cloſe upon the Enemies, that they were conſtrain'd to quit the City, and ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle; which Capitulated three days after, though the * Gariſon conſiſted of above Three Thouſand Men, under the Command of two Baſſa's.

This Famous Expedition being thus at an end, and the Armies too much tired to think of any other conſiderable Action, the Duke of *Lorrain* repaſſed the *Danaw*, and both Armies ſet forward to take up their Winter Quarters.

After the taking of *Barcam*, the Count *d'Humanai*, and ſome other Chieftains of the Male-Contents, had been ſent to the King of *Poland* by Count *Teckeley*, to deſire him to Mediate their Peace with his Imperial Majeſty, upon certain Propoſitions that were at firſt rejected. But the King of *Poland*, who paſſionately long'd for an Accommodation with *Teckeley*, deſired the Duke of *Lorrain* to call a Council to Conſult upon the Intereſts of the Male-Contents, before the Separation of the Armies. Which the Duke excuſed at firſt, alleadging, That he had no Order from his Imperial Majeſty to treat

* Gran *was Beſieged the* 22d *of* October 1683. *and Surrendred upon Compoſition the* 27th *of the ſame Month, five days after, and fifteen or ſixteen days after the taking of* Barcam.

treat with Rebels. But the King of *Poland*'s Importunities were ſuch, that a Council was call'd, wherein the Vice-Chancellor of *Poland*, after a long Diſcourſe of the Great Advantages which Peace procures to a Prince, ſet forth the Pretentions of the Male-Contents, which he reduced to theſe Heads:

I. *The Preſervation of the Privileges of the Kingdom, and eſpecially of their Religion.*
II. *The Reſtitution of Confiſcated Eſtates.*
III. *The Summoning of a Dyet.*
IV. *To grant them Winter Quarters, and a Truce during the Negotiation.*
V. *To Declare Count* Teckeley *to be a Prince.*
VI. *To grant him thoſe Counties which formerly he was put in hopes ſhould be reſign'd to him.*

But the Duke of *Lorrain* returning anſwer, That it behoved the Male Contents to quit the Turks, and lay down their Arms before they could be heard; the Council proceeded no farther. And now it being neceſſary to think of the Preparations for the next years Campagne, the Duke left the Command of the Army to the Count *de Rabata*, and departed for *Lints*, where the Emperor then kept his Court, and arrived there the 3d of *December*.

As for the King of *Poland*, he had deſign'd to ſpend the Winter in the Quarters which he had made choice of; nevertheleſs he chang'd his Mind, and returned with his Army into his own Dominions; which was no ſmall Trouble to the Emperor. But the Duke of *Lorrain* giving him great Hopes that he ſhould be able

to

to reduce *Hungary* without the Aſſiſtance of his Majeſty of *Poland*, and thoſe other Confederates that were already gone home, he put his Confidence in the Duke, who in the midſt of the Divertiſements of the Court, and the Careſſes of the Queen of *Poland* his beloved Spouſe, neglected no time, but took care for all things that might contribute to his being early in the Field the next Campagne; and enable him to ſtrike new Terrors into the Armies of the Turks and Male-Contents.

The raiſing the Siege of *Vienna*, the taking of *Barcam* and *Gran*, the reducing of ſeveral of the Free Towns of *Upper Hungary*, of which the King of *Poland* had made himſelf Maſter in his March, and ſeveral other Victories which the Chriſtians had won, ſo ſtrongly allarum'd the Grand Seignior, that during the Winter, he made extraordinary Preparations, to endeavour the repairing of ſo many Loſſes which he had ſuſtain'd. And in regard the ill Succeſs of his Arms in *Hungary* was attributed unanimouſly to the ill Conduct of *Cara Muſtapha* (that was the Name of the Grand Viſier) the firſt thing he did, was to Strangle that Miniſter, and to ſet up another in his room to Command the Armies. In ſhort, the time being come to take the Field, *Cara Ibrahim*, who ſucceeded the former, having received the *Batoon* of Command, departed from *Adrianople*, *June* the 16th, 1684. and went to joyn the Ottoman Army.

Now if this ſame New Viſier made uſe of all his Abilities to defend himſelf the beſt he could, the Duke of *Lorrain* was no leſs indefatigable

to

to put himſelf into a Condition to aſſail him, and make new Conqueſts. He was already in *Hungary*, where all his Forces were met at the General Rendezvous, at the ſame time that the Grand-Viſier arrived there. He had alſo beſieged and taken * *Vicegrade*.

This City was formerly famous for being the Reſidence of the Kings of *Hungary*; and the reducing of it was of great importance; for that being a very ſtrong Hold, built upon a Rock at the foot of the *Danaw*, whoever was Maſter of it, was alſo Maſter of the River, and hindred all Proviſions going to the Turks. The New Viſier therefore proud of the Eminent Dignity to which he was elevated, and unwilling to neglect any thing for the effectual ſupply of this Place, had no ſooner joyn'd the Ottoman Forces, but he cauſed a Body of the Army to march towards *Buda*, for the ſecurity of that Place. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had already repaſſed the *Danaw*, and had intelligence that the Baſſa of of *Buda* was advanced at the Head of Fifteen thouſand Turks, went himſelf to meet the Baſſa, and force him to a Battle. And having met him near *Weizen*, he fought him, defeated him, took his Cannon with ſeveral Colours, a part of his Baggage, and a great number of Priſoners, and then made himſelf Maſter of the Place, which yielded at Diſcretion, after a vigorous Reſiſtance of three or four hours. * *Peſt*, which he afterwards attack'd, ran the ſame fortune with *Weizen*, for the Duke began to throw in his Bombs ſo furiouſly at firſt, that the Place was conſtrained to open to him her Gates.

* *This City was beſieged the* 15*th of* June 1684, *& capitulated two days after.*

* Weizen *or* Vaccia *was taken* June 28. 1684, *and* Peſt *ſome few days after; Theſe* 2 *Towns are ſeated upon the* Danaw; *the latter ſo near* Buda, *that it is commanded by it, as being within the reach of the Cannon of that Town.*

But

But the Duke ſtay'd not there. Some few days after he routed the Ottoman Army near *Buda*, where it was rang'd in Battle Array, and then laid Siege to the City, which before the Invaſion of the Turks, had been the Metropolitan of the Kingdom.

By theſe ill Succeſſes there was ſuch a Terrour ſpread among the Ottoman Forces, that though their Army was as ſtrong as that of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s, they durſt not make any Detachement to oppoſe the Siege. At the beginning of which the Imperialiſts poſſeſſed themſelves of the Suburbs, and ſome other Advantageous Poſts, from whence they drove the Enemy. And after ſome days that the Siege had been laid, they had ſo terribly batter'd the Town, that there was a conſiderable Breach made in the Wall. And theſe proſperous Beginnings begat great Hopes of a Fortunate Iſſue. But the Grand-Viſier, being waken'd out of his Slumber, ſent an Army of Twenty thouſand Turks under the Command of a Seraſquier, to Relieve the Place. Of this the Duke of *Lorrain* had Intelligence, and therefore fearing that if thoſe Forces ſhould advance too near, he ſhould be forced to raiſe his Siege, he reſolved to go and fight them. To which purpoſe, with a Detachement of Fifteen thouſand Men, he fell upon the Enemy at ſuch an Advantage, that no leſs than Four thouſand were ſlain upon the Place, and a great part of the reſt were either wounded or taken Priſoners, and thoſe that eſcaped the hands of the Chriſtians betook themſelves to flight with ſo much dread and precipitation, that they left behind 'em all their Baggage,

gage, all their Ammunition, all their Cannon, and the Grand-Viſiers Standard, as at the raiſing the Siege of *Vienna*.

All this while, they that were left in the Siege play'd furiouſly with their Great Guns upon the City; and the Duke of *Lorrain* being returned to the Camp, after the defeat of the Seraſquier, continued the Siege with great violence. On the other ſide, the Beſieged for above two Months together, made ſuch bold and vigorous Sallies every day, that the Imperial Army began to waſte very much. However all their Loſſes were no ſuch hindrance, but that they had gained a great deal of Ground, that they had advanced even to the Rampart of the Town, that they had ſprung ſeveral Mines, which had wrought wonderful Effects, inſomuch that the Breach which they had made was about thirty paces wide; and that the Duke was inclin'd to have ventur'd a general Aſſault; but falling ſick at the ſame time, he was conſtrained to retire, and leave the Care of the Siege to the Count of *Rabata*, who was a Perſon of great Knowledge and Experience, and would by no means give his Advice to hazard any thing.

During the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Indiſpoſition of Body, the Duke of *Bavaria* arriv'd at the Camp with a conſiderable Reinforcement, and no ſooner had he viſited the Works, and obſerv'd the Situation of the Place, but he ſent a Summons to the Governor to ſurrender the Town, with a Promiſe of good Conditions. And there was ſome hopes that the Governor, finding himſelf ſo cloſely preſs'd upon, and without

without any hopes of Relief, while the Chriſtian Army had received freſh Succors, would not have refus'd ſo fair an Offer. But he only anſwer'd the Duke of *Bavaria* with continual Sallies, which much diminiſh'd the Chriſtian Army, though the Beſieged in like manner ſuſtained great Loſſes.

Upon this the Duke of *Lorrain*, although he had not quite recovered his Health, return'd to the Camp, impatient to be Maſter of *Buda*. But the face of Affairs was alter'd during his Sickneſs, for the Seraſquier was again approach'd the Place with new Forces, and while the Beſieged made continual Sallies on the one ſide, the Ottoman Army attack'd the Chriſtian Camp with numerous Detachements on the other, ſo that the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Army was not a little diſtreſt, as having to contend with Enemies before and behind at one time; beſides, that by the favour of theſe Sallies which the Beſieged made every day, they ſeveral times receiv'd conſiderable Succors. Nor could the Duke of *Lorrain*, do what he could, prevent the Enemy from putting in ſeveral times into the Town great quantities of Ammunition and Proviſions. So that at length, after ſeveral Aſſaults, ſeveral Bloody Sallies, ſeveral Endeavours in vain, and the loſs of above Ten thouſand Chriſtians that periſh'd in this Siege, which laſted three months and a half, the Seraſquier having receiv'd a Reinforcement of Ten thouſand Tartars, and marching up directly to the Imperial Army, made ſuch deſperate Attacks, and they that were aſſail'd defended themſelves with ſo much diſadvantage, that the Duke of *Lorrain* found it high

time to think of retreating. The Relief put into the Place, the diminution of his Army, the bad condition of his Men for want of Forage and Victuals, the inconveniencies of the Seaſon, and the little miſunderſtandings which were crept in among ſome of the Generals, the flight of ſome part of the *Hungarians*, and the extream hazard of a general Storm, at what time there would be a neceſſity of fighting at the ſame moment with the Gariſon, and againſt the Seraſquier, who was not far diſtant from the Dukes Entrenchments; all theſe Conſiderations made the Duke determine to raiſe the Siege, and to ſuffer his Courage to give way to his Prudence and good Conduct*.

Nevertheleſs it was not without a more then ordinary Violence upon himſelf, that he conſented to this Retreat; However it was ſo Honourable, that it redounded greatly to his Fame. For notwithſtanding that the Enemies Army was ſo numerous, they never durſt ſo much as fall upon his Rear; ſo ſtrangely was the Seraſquier terrified with the Advantages the Duke had gained over him during the Siege. Thus ended the Campagne, of which the ſucceſsful Beginnings propos'd a quite contrary Concluſion. The Seraſquier marched off to take up his Winter-quarters, and the Duke his; after he had furniſh'd *Weizen* and *Vicegrad* with ſtrong Gariſons, and ordered the demoliſhing of *Peſt*, as being impoſſible to be preſerved.

During the Winter, ſome little Excurſions were made on both ſides; ſome few Caſtles were taken and retaken, and the Imperial Army held up *Newhauſel*, in order to begin the next

Campa-

* Buda *was beſieged the* 14*th of* July 1684. *& the Siege was raiſ'd the* 1*ſt of* Novemb. *of the ſame year.*

Campagne with the Siege of that Place. However that did not prevent the Turks from putting in freſh Relief into it ſeveral times, nor from committing ſeveral Ravages upon the Country.

The raiſing the Siege of *Buda*, the continual Incurſions of the Turks in a Seaſon when Armies are uſually at reſt, and the great Preparations which were making at *Conſtantinople*, made the Emperor to judge that the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Army could not be ſtrong enough to undertake any new Enterprize; and therefore he thought it neceſſary to have recourſe to the Electors, and other States and Princes of the Empire, to prevent the danger of receiving a Check in his Affairs. And indeed as it was their Intereſt to bring down as low as it was poſſible the Common Enemy of Chriſtendom. They engaged therefore againſt the next Spring to ſend an Army into *Hungary* of above Sixty thouſand Men, while the Pope on the other ſide, promis'd to open his Treaſuries, and contribute as far as he could toward the payment of the Armies that were to march againſt the Infidels.

It would be impoſſible to relate the hardſhips which the Emperor's and the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Soldiers ſuffered in their Winter-quarters. They wanted both Victuals and Forage, which the Armies had already devoured in a waſted Country. And that ſame little Nouriſhment which they could get, or the bad Suſtenance which they were glad to make uſe of, begat ſo many Diſeaſes and Diſtempers, that they were all in danger of periſhing. However, as much leſſen'd as the Imperial

Army was, they were in a condition to march, ſo ſoon as the Spring approached, and to enterprize ſomething till the Auxiliary Forces came up.

The Emperor therefore reſolved to begin the Campagne with the Siege of *Novigrade*, which is a little City, ſeated about a League from the *Danaw*, between *Gran* and *Weizen*, and has a Caſtle belonging to it, which is built upon an inacceſſible Rock. His Imperial Majeſtie's Deſign being by that means to deprive the Turks of their Communication between *Buda* and *Newhauſel*; and after that, to lay Siege again to the firſt.

Some days after this Reſolution was taken, the Duke of *Lorrain* departed from *Vienna*, and arrived in the Army that lay encamped near *Gran*, conſiſting of about Five and twenty Thouſand Men. This Prince, to whom the Emperor had given a full Commiſſion to act according as Occaſions preſented, after he had well conſider'd the Reſolution taken to Beſiege *Novigrade* firſt, and then *Buda*, found ſuch great Difficulties in the Execution of this Deſign, that he almoſt diſpaired of better Succeſs than he had the Summer before. In ſhort, beſides that the Fortifications of *Buda* were in a much better condition than the Emperor imagined; beſides, that the new Baſſa, who Commanded in that Place, had utterly demoliſhed the Houſes that had been ruined during the Siege, to the end he might be in a better condition to defend himſelf, the Gariſon conſiſted of above Ten thouſand Men. There were alſo Ten thouſand Turks that lay between *Buda* and

Alba

Alba Regalis, and Twelve thouſand more had paſſed the Bridge of *Eſſeck* to joyn Ten thouſand Tartars. So that the Duke of *Lorrain* found he had to deal with an Army of no leſs than Threeſoore thouſand Men, beſides great Detachements which they could draw out of the Gariſons adjoyning. All theſe Conſiderations made him out of conceit with the Siege; nevertheleſs he ſent away the Count of *Caprara* with a Detachement of Three thouſand Horſe, to take a View of *Novigrade*. At what time, although that Gariſon had received a reinforcement of Five hundred Janiſaries, they quitted the City, and flung themſelves into the Caſtle, upon the ſight of that Detachement. However, becauſe the Count had no Order for a Siege, he returned without attempting any thing. And upon the Report which *Caprara* made of the Condition of the Place, the Duke gave over the Deſign which he had to Attack it, and reſolved to Beſiege *Newhauſel*: which was approved by the Emperor, to whom the Duke ſignified his Reſolution by a Letter.

The Imperial Army therefore inveſted *Newhauſel*, upon the 7th of *July* 1685. and the next day the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Forces, with thoſe of the Dukes of *Brunſwick*, *Lunenburg*, and other Princes of *Germany*, being arrived at the Camp, the Duke of *Lorrain*, attended by ſome Volunteers, and Principal Officers of the Army, went to View the Place, and laid his Deſign to Attack it, in the ſame manner as the Turks had attackt and taken it before, in the year 1663. Accordingly, the Deſign was put in Execution, and the Siege was proſecuted with ſo much

Vigor, that though the Beſieged made continual Sallies from the very firſt day they were inveſted, and made as Brave a Defence as any Men in the World could have done, nevertheleſs they deſpair'd of being able to ſuſtain the violent Efforts of the Chriſtians.

In the mean time, while the Chriſtians Beſieged *Newhauſel*, the Turks ſurprized the lower Town of *Vicegrade*, which they firſt Plundered, and then ſet on Fire, after they had put the greateſt part of the Inhabitants to the Sword, and taken the reſt Priſoners. Which done they went to Beſiege *Gran*, in hopes to make themſelves Maſters of that Place, or elſe to raiſe the Siege of *Newhauſel*.

To which the Duke of *Lorrain* was upon the point of giving a General Aſſault, when the News was brought him, that *Gran* was in extream Diſtreſs, that the Tartars carried on their Trenches amain; and that the Seraſquier, whoſe Army was above Sixty thouſand Strong, had already given two Aſſaults.

Upon this, the Duke, no leſs reſolved to Succour *Gran*, than to fight the Seraſquier, roſe from the Camp before *Newhauſel*, with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and ſome other Generals, at the Head of Thirty thouſand Men, leaving only Twenty thouſand to make good the Siege, under the Command of the Count of *Caprara*. The ſame day the Army encamp'd at *Comorra*, and the next day having paſſed the *Danaw* over two Bridges, which were made in the Night, they began to march in Battle array, and ſo continued their March till they came in view of the Enemy, who advanced forward

to

to meet the Chriſtian Army. For the Seraſquier afraid of being beaten by the Duke, as he had been the Campagné before, no ſooner underſtood that the Duke was advancing towards him with his Forces, but he raiſed the Siege of *Gran*, and drew up all his Forces together. So that the Duke found him ranged in Order of Battel, with an Army of above Sixty thouſand Men in a very advantageous Poſt. For he had of each ſide, Mountains covered with Wood; before him a Marſh, that extended as far as the *Danaw*; upon the Banks of which, he had begun his Entrenchments, which he had carried on from the River to a riſing Ground, where he had Planted his great Guns. The firſt days were only ſpent in Skirmiſhes; while the Turks extended their Camp to the ſame Diſtance from the Marſh, as that of the Chriſtians lay, ſtretching out their Right Wing along the *Danaw*, and their Left upon the riſing Grounds.

Now in regard that upon the News which the Duke of *Lorrain* had received that the Enemy had raiſed the Siege of *Gran*, and that the Relief which he had ſent to the Town was got in, he was not obliged to paſs the Marſh that lay between him and the Ottoman Army, he thought it rather his Buſineſs to force the Seraſquier to paſs it himſelf, and to draw him on to begin the Fight, without being obliged to tire his own Soldiers; but which way to do this, he could not deviſe. Thereupon a Council of War was called, and then it was reſolved that the Duke ſhould counterfeit a haſty Flight, to draw on the Seraſquier to follow

him. Thereupon the Baggage was immediately ſent away before, toward the cloſe of the Evening, and the Imperialiſts about two hours after decamped. No ſooner was the Army upon their March, but they heard a moſt hideous noiſe of Turkiſh Exaltation, which made them conjecture that the Seraſquier would be at their heels. In ſhort, the Turkiſh General upon falſe Intelligence, that the Chriſtian Army was not above Twenty thouſand Men, had laboured might and main to fill up the Marſh, and had paſſed it, with a Deſign to give the Duke Battel, and then to relieve *Newhauſel*.

On the other ſide, the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had compaſſed his Deſign, prepared for Battel, and having cauſed his Army to face about, he marched it all Night in Order of Battel toward the Enemy: And by break of day there aroſe ſuch a thick Fog, that it was impoſſible for the Seraſquier to obſerve the Number of the Chriſtians, nor the Order of their Army; which did not contribute a little to the Victory which the Duke of *Lorrain* gained; for he knew how to make his Advantage of it. So ſoon as the Miſt cleared up, both Armies drew near one to another, with a ſlow pace at firſt: But at length the Turks coming down from the riſing Grounds, which they poſſeſt, flew upon the Right Wing of the Chriſtian Army commanded by the Prince of *Baden*, with an incredible Fury; but that Wing ſtood immoveable: and immediately after the Left Wing commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, was Charged with no leſs Reſolution: Which alſo with a ſuperiour courage repelled the Infidels, who then deſpairing

deſpairing to break into the Body, aſſayed to force their Flank: but that ſame Attempt deceiving their Expectations, as being ſecured by the River *Danow*, they fell again upon Prince *Louis* of *Baden*. Thereupon the Duke of *Lorrain*, who perceived what the violent Attempts of the Turks aimed at, ordered the Wing which he commanded to march with a ſlow pace, with Inſtructions to receive the firſt firing of the Enemy, without ſo much as diſcharging a Gun. The ſame Directions were alſo given by the Duke of *Bavaria* to the Left Wing, which he commanded. So that after the Turks had diſcharged their firſt Vollies, the Imperialiſts fired ſo thick upon them, that they were forced to give ground. Upon which the Duke of *Lorrain*, to take the Advantage of their Diſorder, commanded his own Men to bear hard upon the Enemy, yet not ſo furiouſly as to break their Ranks, and at the ſame time ordered the Hungarians to follow the purſuit; who being better acquainted with the Turkiſh manner of Fighting, rally themſelves more eaſily. Upon that, the Turks who had betaken themſelves to flight, ſo ſoon as they were out of reach of the Imperial Artillery, began to rally again, and turning Head againſt the Hungarians, put them into ſome diſorder; and encouraged by this Advantage, they returned to make a ſecond Charge, but were received with that Reſolution by the Imperialiſts, keeping their Ground, that the greateſt part of them that carried the Colours were ſlain at the Head of their Squadrons; which put them again into diſorder, and obliged them to a ſecond Flight.

In

In this hurly-burly and Danger wherein the Turks beheld themſelves, they threw themſelves all on one ſide, and flew upon the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Wing, with a Reſolution to Flank it. But the Duke, perceiving their Deſign by their firſt Motions, rendered it altogether ineffectual, by redoubling the fire of the firſt Line, as he ſaw the Turks come on. At the ſame time alſo he gave Order to the Count *de Dunewald*, to march on that ſide, with the Squadrons and Batallions that were neareſt the ſecond Line. And all his Orders were ſo exactly and ſo ſucceſsfully obeyed, that the Duke of *Bavaria* advancing at the ſame time with the Left Wing, there began a moſt terrible confuſion among the Turks; who at laſt betook themſelves to flight, with ſo much conſternation, that they entangled themſelves among the moſt difficult Paſſes of the Marſh. Immediately the Duke ordered the purſuit to be made by a Detachement of Hungarians and Croats, and ſome Squadrons of Dragoons and Horſe; which ſo much increaſed the diſorder of the Turks, that they loſt above Two thouſand Men before they could repaſs the Marſh. The greateſt part of the Janiſaries who were engaged upon a riſing Ground, being forſaken by their Horſe, were all cut to pieces. Nevertheleſs, the Turks endeavoured to rally. But the Duke of *Lorrain* having paſſed the Marſh with his Army, by the ſame Paſſes through which the the Turks had Eſcaped, as having made them paſſable themſelves; this put the Enemy into ſuch a terrible conſternation, that they abandoned their Camp, and ſought their Safety in the

the nimbleneſs of their Heels. And in this diſorder, impoſſible to be deſcribed, it was, that the Janiſaries made no ſcruple to cut the *Spahi*'s Throats, for the ſake of their Horſes; ſo that it may well be ſaid, that the Seraſquier loſt more Men, through the Fright and Confuſion that was among them, then in the Fight; where not above Thræe thouſand were ſlain upon the Place, with the loſs of only Three hundred on the Dukes ſide. In the Camp were found Four and twenty Pieces of Cannon, ſome Mortars, above a thouſand Bombs, a great Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions, and a good number of Colours.

While the Duke of *Lorrain* was thus employ'd at the Battle of *Gran*, the Count of *Caprara* had ſo far advanced the Siege of *Newhauſel*, that ſeeing the Beſieged made no ſhew of any inclination to Surrender, he reſolv'd upon a general Storm. To this purpoſe, Three thouſand Men were at firſt commanded to attack the two Baſtions, where they had made conſiderable Breaches. This Party being encouraged by the Example of Count *Schaffenburgh*, the Baron *d'Aſſi*, and Colonel *Kalets*, who commanded the two Attacks, and were the firſt at the Breach, in a moment cut to pieces all the Turks that made any defence, ſo that the reſt being terrified as well by the Slaughter, as by the extraordinary firing of above ſeventy great Guns, and twenty Mortar-pieces, hung out white Colours, and beat a Parley. But then it was too late; no Capitulation would be accepted; ſo that after the Town was carried by * Force, they put all to the Sword.

As

* Newhauſel *was inveſted* July 7. 1685, *the* 11*th it was formally beſieged, &* the 19*th of* Aug. *following it was taken by Aſſault.*

As for the Seraſquier, after his being defeated, he retired under *Buda*, where he caus'd ſome of his Officers to be Strangled, under pretence, that they had not done their Duty in the Fight. But the Baſſa of that Place, having let fly ſeveral Cannon at his Men, and withall ſending him Word, That the Grand-Signior ſent him to fight the Chriſtian Armies, and not to run away. That bitter Reproach touch'd him ſo nearly to the quick, that he preſently rous'd himſelf up, and ſet forward with his ſhatter'd Troops to find out the Imperial Army; but that was only a flouriſh that came to nothing; for quite contrary to this Bravado, having ſent ſome days after a Chiaus to the Duke of *Lorrain*, with the Ranſom of an *Aga* that was taken in the Battel, he alſo wrote a Letter at the ſame time, wherein, after he had made ſome Propoſitions of Peace in the Grand-Signior's Name, he deſired him to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms, till he could have an Anſwer from his Imperial Majeſty. 'Tis true, the Seraſquier's Aim, after he had obtain'd a Truce, was to have ſpun out the Negotiation in length, and ſo to have manag'd the Affair, that an Ambaſſador ſhould have been ſent to the *Port*; believing that in all that time, the Grand-Signior having the opportunity of raiſing new Forces, he might be in a Condition by that delay to recover a Strength ſufficient to chace the Emperor out of *Hungary*.

But the Duke laught at his Propoſitions; and being retired to *Weizen*, where he lay encamp'd with his Army to obſerve the Seraſquier's Motions, returned to *Newhauſel*. After this

this every body thought they would have been marching to their Winter-quarters; but the Duke of *Lorrain*, before he would think of leaving his Army, took care for repairing the Fortifications of *Newhauſel*, and to block up the City of *Agria*.

They who underſtand the Story of the Seraſquier, well knew that he had Signalized himſelf in *Poland*, in ſeveral Campagnes; and we ſaw that it was he who rais'd the Siege of *Buda*; but notwithſtanding all his Bravery and Stoutneſs, the Grand-Signior condemn'd him to Death. Not that it was believed at *Conſtantinople*, that the Seraſquier was guilty, or that all Men were not convinced that he had done his Duty, but it was enough to be thought unworthy to Live, that he had been unfortunate in two Campagnes. For the Turks are ſo ſuperſtitious, as to believe, that the Misfortunes of particular Men, may be communicative to all the Empire; and therefore they think it a piece of Juſtice to Sacrifice them to the Publick Good.

However, upon the Debate of Electing a new Seraſquier, the Grand-Signior was at a great loſs, not knowing upon whom to fix his Eyes, that was capable to oppoſe the Duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe Name alone was enough to terrifie the moſt undaunted of the Ottomans. But the Grand-Viſier having nominated *Solyman* Baſſa, who commanded at that time in *Poland*, the Grand-Signior pitch'd upon him, and immediately order'd him to be ſent for. *Solyman* was no ſooner arrived at Court, but the Sultan told him, that he had made choice

of

of him to command his Armies in *Hungary*, and that he could think of none ſo Worthy as himſelf for that Employment. And this would have been look'd upon as an extraordinary Advancement in a Nation leſs Barbarous then that of the Turks. But conſidering the Condition of their Affairs, it was no more then the Sentence of his Death at the end of the Campagne. But notwithſtanding the Baſſa's inward Sorrow for his new Preferment, he diſſembled his Vexation, to be Reveng'd of the Grand-Viſier, who had Sacrificed him to the Neceſſities of the Time. In ſhort, having proſtrated himſelf at the Feet of the Sultan, ſome days after, he beſought his Highneſs to diſpence with his Non-Acceptance of the Employment which he had conferr'd upon him. He told him, that the Ottoman Forces were all in a very great Terror; that the General of the Chriſtians fought with ſo much extraordinary Fortune, that he needed no more then appear, to vanquiſh and put an Army to flight; that his Victories had render'd him undaunted; and that foreſeeing that his good Fortune would not ſo ſoon forſake him, and that the Campagne could not be ended without the loſs of his Head, he therefore beſought his Highneſs rather to put him to death, than ſend him into *Hungary*, where the Affairs of War were in ſo bad a condition, as not to be recovered, but after greater Loſſes then had been already ſuſtain'd. To this *Solyman*, at the ſame Inſtant, added, That the ill Succeſſes of the laſt Campagne proceeded from the Grand-Viſiers fault, who had fail'd in ſeveral Things, which the Baſſa enumerated at the ſame time. Nevertheleſs

theleſs he offer'd to accept of the Truſt which his Highneſs had Honour'd him withall, if his Highneſs would appear in Perſon at the Head of his Armies in *Hungary*, as his Predeceſſors had always done, and not leave them to the Diſpoſal of the Grand-Viſier. Which Diſcourſe ſo feelingly ſtrook the Sultan, and wrought ſo effectually in his Mind, that he diſcharged the Grand-Viſier from his High Dignity, put *Solyman* in his Room, and reſolv'd to take the Field in Perſon.

While theſe things were thus tranſacted at *Conſtantinople*, great preparations were making at *Vienna* againſt the Spring. And in regard it was mainly deſigned to follow the Blow, and take advantage of the Conſternation with which the Chriſtian Victories had ſtupified the Ottoman Forces, ſeveral Councils of War were held, wherein it was debated, whether they ſhould beſiege *Agria* then block'd up, and *Alba-Regalis*, at the ſame time; but nothing was determined. Till at length the Duke of *Lorrain*, who perſuaded the Siege of *Buda*, being arrived the 20th of *May* with the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Newſtadt*, where the Emperor then reſided, it was fully concluded, that the Campagne ſhould begin with the Siege of that Place. But in regard the ſucceſs of the Conqueſt appeared very doubtful, there were many long Debates about the putting this Enterprize in Execution. The Duke had granted at firſt, that the Siege could not be made without a great deal of trouble, in regard the Fortifications of the Place had been repair'd, and that ſeveral Bulworks had been added to ſtrengthen the Outworks all

along

along the *Danuw* to the Mountain, and that the Moat was made much deeper and wider on the other ſide of the City. He farther added, that he knew well, that the Turks had Countermined thoſe parts where he had prepared Mines, when he beſieged the Town in the year 1684; That they had contriv'd falſe Sally Ports underneath; that they had unpav'd the Streets, until'd the Houſes, and cover'd them with Earth, to prevent the Effects of the Bombs and Carcaſſes; that the Gariſon conſiſted of Ten thouſand choſen Spahi's and Janiſaries; and that the Baſſa *Abdi*, who commanded in the Place, was a Perſon perfect in the Myſtery of War, a Reſolute Renegado, who had a long time been an Officer in the Chriſtian Armies, and that he had under him ſix Aga's, who were all Men of great Experience. In a word, the Duke of *Lorrain* omitted nothing to ſet forth the Difficulties which he had to ſurmount in undertaking the Siege of *Buda*. But at length, having brought the Emperor, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the reſt of the Generals that were preſent in Council, to be of his Opinion, that they had never ſeen ſo brave an Army as that which they had ready to take the Field, and that the Turks were never weaker, nor in a more daunted Condition; and ſhewed them where he would correct the Errors committed in the laſt Siege, and alleadged all the Reaſons that he could, that it was not impoſſible to carry the Place, the Siege was at length reſolved upon, and two Armies were ordered to march; the one, that was moſt numerous, to be commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the other by the Elector of *Bavaria*.

So

So ſoon as this Reſolution was taken, there was no time loſt in making all Preparations that might contribute to the good Succeſs of the Enterprize. The Plains of *Barcam* were appointed for the General Rendezvous upon the 30th of the ſame Month, and both Armies ſet forward accordingly. But in regard the Brandenburgers, and Regiments of *Saabia*, could not March far in a day, becauſe they had taken the Road of *Sileſia*, and the narrow Paſſes of *Jablunka*, it was impoſſible for them to meet at the time prefixed. And beſides, a ſlight Fit of an Ague, having detained the Duke of *Lorrain* at *Edemburgh*, therefore the General Muſter was deferred till the 8th of *June*. Never was Enterprize deſired with ſo much Ardour; nor ever did men prepare themſelves for an Expedition with more Joy or greater Courage. Volunteers came thronging in from all Parts, to be preſent at that famous Siege, their Number being reckoned to be above Six thouſand. And all the Troops and Regiments in general, gave ſuch Teſtimonies of their Eagerneſs to Signalize their Valour, that the Duke of *Lorrain* could not forbear ſaying aloud and openly, That he was aſſured of the Conqueſt.

The 18th of *June*, the Armies arriving before *Buda*, the Town was inveſted: and the ſame day they laboured in raiſing the Lines of Circumvallation. The next, the City was more cloſely ſurrounded on all ſides where it was acceſſible. The 22d, after they had begun to open the Trenches, by the Overture of three large Places of Arms, much nearer the Town than before, they reſolved upon three

Attacques, the firſt commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain*, the ſecond by the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the third by the *Brandenburghers*; to which ſome Imperial Regiments, and ſome other Auxiliary Troops were to be joyned. I ſhall not ſtay to relate the Circumſtances of the Siege. All the World knows with what Vigor it was carried on, from the firſt to the laſt day, and with what an undaunted Courage the Chriſtians fought.

However the Baſſa of *Buda* was nothing diſmayed, notwithſtanding the vigorous Attacks of the Chriſtians, and the bad Entertainment which his Souldiers received every time they Sallied forth, which they frequently did. For as he was reſolved to defend himſelf bravely, ſo he Publiſhed an Order of the Grand Seigniors, by which all were Condemned to Death that did but ſpeak of Surrendring; and ſome of the Janiſaries he alſo put to Death, for only ſpeaking too favourably of the Strength of the Chriſtian Army. He put forth all the Country People and unprofitable Mouths out of the Town, that they might conſume the Proviſions that were laid in for thoſe who were to ſuſtain the Siege. And as one that was reſolved never to Capitulate to whatever Extremity ſoever he were reduced, he ſent out of the City whatever he had of Value, with a Deſign to ſend it to *Belgrade*, tho' it fell into the Enemies hands by the way.

But the loſs of that, how conſiderable ſoever it were, did nothing abate the Baſſa's Courage: and though the Beſiegers had advanced their Trenches, and planted their Batteries; though

though they had Bomb'd and Battered the Town after a moſt terrible manner, and that he had loſt a great Number of his Soldiers in ſeveral Sallies, and Endeavours to repel the Chriſtians, yet he fail'd not all along to make a moſt Incredible Reſiſtance. In ſhort, about a Month after the Place was Beſieged, the Duke of *Lorrain* having reſolved upon a General Aſſault, if a Mine which was ordered to be ſprung had taken Effect; and thinking it convenient firſt to Summon the Beſieged before he was forced to that Extremity; the Baſſa returned this Letter.

Grand Viſier of the Chriſtians,

YOU are very Preſumptuous to come a ſecond time to Beſiege Buda, *which has coſt Chriſtendom already ſo many Men, and ſo much Money. 'Tis very true, this Siege has ſurprized us, becauſe neither You nor We did ever expect it. But by the Aſſiſtance of God, and our Prophet* Mahomet, *You have been 'twice ſhamefully repulſed, and You ſhall not need to Aſſail us ſo many times as You imagine. We ſhall hope the ſame Fate will befall You, as You have hitherto experienced. As for what remains, if Your Emperor have Commanded You to Aſſault us, we have Orders from Ours to Defend our ſelves.*

ABDI BASHA

Viſier of *Buda.*

This Anſwer ſo Proud and Haughty, conſtrained the Duke of *Lorrain* to Play with all his Cannon from the three Attacks, and to Bomb the Place, with greater Fury, if it may be ſo ſaid, than before. After which he cauſed the Mine, to be ſprung, which he had brought to Perfection before he Summoned the Baſſa: but the Mine not producing that Effect which was expected, but rather the contrary, as having overthrown the foremoſt Poſts of the Imperial Trenches, there was a Neceſſity of deferring the Aſſault till another time. Which was done accordingly three or four days after, upon the 27th of *July*, about ſix of the Clock in the Evening. At what time there was moſt deſperate firing on both ſides. If the Cannon, and Bombs, the Garcaſſes, the Granado's, and ſmall ſhot of the Beſiegers cauſed on the one ſide the moſt Prodigious Noiſes of Havock and Deſtruction, ſufficient to aſtoniſh the moſt undaunted; on the other ſide, the continual Peals of Cannon and Stone Mortar-Pieces from the Beſieged, accompanied with Showers of Arrows, Darts, Bombs and other Inſtruments of Death, which they rolled from the top of the Breaches, where they ſtood with their Bodies expoſed, without any ſhelter, to all Varieties of Death, gave the Chriſtians to underſtand that they had to do with Men fully determin'd to ſell their Lives at a dear rate.

The Imperialiſts were they that advanced the fartheſt, and lodged themſelves where the Beſieged were entrench'd: but they had much ado to preſerve the Poſts which they had won, by reaſon of the Mines which the Enemy continually

tinually Sprung; ſo that you might ſee two or three Hundred Men blown up into the Air at a time. And the Reſiſtance which the Beſieged made was ſo great, that the Imperialiſts that came on to the Aſſault were repulſed no leſs than three times with conſiderable loſs. Which the Duke of *Lorrain* perceiving from the place where he gave his Orders, advanced himſelf to the foot of the Breach, with freſh Succors to relieve the reſt. And his Preſence animated the Soldiers in ſuch a manner, that ſeeing their General expoſing his Perſon like the meaneſt of them, to the moſt apparent Dangers, and at hand to give a Teſtimony of their Actions, they forced the Infidels out of their Lodgments, and gain'd a Roundel, upon which depended in a manner the taking of the Town.

Nor had the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Troops of *Brandenburgh* leſs ſucceſs in the Aſſaults which they made, then the Duke of *Lorrain* on his ſide. This Aſſault, which was the ſecond that was given, laſted about three hours; at what time Night coming on, would not permit them to advance any farther. The Duke himſelf was alſo wounded the laſt time in the Leg with a Stone, and his Aſſiſtant Camp-Maſter-General was killed cloſe by him. And now all things were ready prepared to carry the Place by Storm. But the Duke of *Lorrain*, deeming it convenient for the Service of the Emperor, to avoid that Extremity, ſent a ſecond time to Summon the Baſſa to ſurrender. And then the Baſſa, who began already to fear the worſt, was grown ſomewhat more humble in his Language then formerly. Thereupon he wrote

two Letters, one directed to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the other to the Elector of *Bavaria*. Wherein, after he had repreſented the Importance of the Preſervation of *Buda* to the *Ottomans*, as being both the Key of *Conſtantinople* and *Jeruſalem*, ſo that he could not reſolve to ſurrender it into the Hands of the Chriſtians, he propoſed to the two Generals the choice of any other City in *Hungary*, which he would deliver into their Poſſeſſion, provided they would at the ſame time raiſe the Siege, and make a general Peace. But that Propoſal being rejected, they prepared for a third general Aſſault, which was accordingly given three days after; at what time the Imperialiſts advanced their Lodgments to the Foot of the third Wall, which environed the City, though not without the loſs of a great many Men.

But while the Town was thus ſtreighten'd, and the Beſieged reduced to the laſt Extremity, the Ottoman Army came boldly on, with a purpoſe either to put Relief into the Town, or force the Chriſtians in their Lines. And it was believed that *Mahomet* IV. would have appeared at the Head of that Army. But *Solyman* whom he had wholly engaged, by conferring upon him the Charge of Grand Viſier, which was That he gap'd after, diverted him from the Expedition, by laying before him, that he could not march, without a numerous Train of uſeleſs Perſons; and by conſequence a great Number of his Forces that were to be otherwiſe employ'd, would be taken off from all other Service, but that of Guarding his Perſon. So that his Highneſs ſubmitting

to

to thoſe and ſome other Reaſons which he alledg'd, retir'd to *Conſtantinople*; and the Grand Viſier took upon him the Command of the Army, with a new Seraſquier, whom he ſent before with Twenty thouſand Men; and follow'd him with Thirty thouſand more, and Forty Pieces of Cannon, expecting ſome other Recruits to joyn him. So that the Ottoman Army, upon the Conjunction of the Tartars, which happen'd in a ſhort time after, was about a Hundred thouſand Men.

With this Army the Grand Viſier preſented himſelf ſeveral times in view of the Enemies Camp, ſent ſeveral of his Detachements of the choiceſt of his Men, and by ſurprize put in ſome ſmall Succors into the Town. But in regard it was not the Baſſa's deſign to come to a Battel, he only fought in Parties for ſeveral Months; inſomuch that his Army, as numerous as it was at the beginning, being much weakened and diſcouraged, and by degrees brought to ſo ſad a Condition, as not to be able to make any attempt upon the Lines of the Chriſtians, who on the other ſide were greatly encouraged by the continual Advantages which they daily won over the Detachements which the Grand Viſier expoſed to their Victorious Swords; the Duke of *Lorrain* reſolv'd to try the Iſſue of a 4th Aſſault, for the Maſtery of the Town. 'Tis true, the Advice of ſome of the Generals was to give the Grand Viſier Battel, for fear leaſt while they were buſied in the Aſſault, the Turks ſhould endeavour to force their Lines, and they be in danger of being themſelves Beſieged. But the Duke of *Lorrain* making it evident by ſeveral Reaſons,

that there was nothing to be feared on that ſide; That beſides, there was a kind of Confidence in the Chriſtians, which did in a manner aſſure them of Victory; and that moreover, the hope of Pillage would make them Fight with more vigour againſt the Town than againſt the Enemy in the Field, where there was nothing to be got but Blows; his Advice was immediately followed, and all things prepared ready for the Onſet.

Immediately Thirty thouſand Horſe and Foot were drawn out of the Lines, and put in Order of Battel in a Plain oppoſite to the Front of the Ground which the Enemies poſſeſſed. The Duke of *Lorrain*'s Deſign being to amuſe the Enemy, by making as if he intended to Attack them, and by that means to put them out of hopes of making any Advantage of the Time ſpent in the Aſſault, or of endeavouring to force the Chriſtians Lines; and it fell out as was intended: For the Viſier, whether he were ſecure of any Succeſs in the Aſſault, or whether he were afraid to fight the Chriſtian Forces, never budged out of his Camp.

The next day therefore the Beſiegers gave the Onſet, after the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and General *Schoning*, who commanded the Brandenburgers in their ſeveral Attacks, had given all ſuch Orders as they thought Neceſſary. Never was any Aſſault purſued with more Vigor and undaunted Courage, and never did Gariſon better defend it ſelf than that of *Buda* at that time. Several times the Imperialiſts were conſtrain'd to recoyle, but at length after many bloody Struglings

lings on both ſides, the Beſieged having loſt their Courage through the Death of the Governor, who was ſlain upon the Breach, the Infidels were repulſed and forced out of their Entrenchments on that ſide next the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Attack. At the ſame time alſo the Brandenburgers enter'd the City, and piercing forward into the Streets, put all to the Sword. One of the Baſſa's who defended the Place next the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Attack with an incredible Courage, was conſtrain'd to give Ground, and ſeeing all loſt next the Attacks of *Lorrain* and *Brandenburgh*, retir'd into a Roundel, between the Caſtle and the City, where he yielded at Diſcretion, with all that were with him. Thus was *Buda* taken by Storm in every of the three Places where the Aſſault was made; ouly thoſe that were in the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Attack were the firſt that enter'd. This Conqueſt was the more Glorious in regard it was made in view of the whole Ottoman Army, who without daring to make any Attempt to relieve it, ſuffer'd the taking by Storm of ſo important a Place as that was, and of which the Infidels had been in Poſſeſſion near a Hundred and fifty years. There was found in the Place between Three and Four hundred Pieces of Cannon, Sixty Mortar-Pieces, and an Incredible Number of Bullets, Granadoes, Carcaſſes, Bombs, and other Warlike Engines; beſides about Two thouſand Priſoners taken. For the Turks that were in *Buda* fought like Men in deſpair, ſo that the greateſt part were deſtroy'd before the City was won. And for the Chriſtian Generals, they ſignalized themſelves in this Siege

Siege by ſo many Actions of Courage and Prudence, that the Enemies of the Dnke of *Lorrain* have been conſtrain'd to acknowledge, that he perform'd at that time all that could be expected from a Great and Experienced Captain.

I tremble to relate the Actions of the Soldiers after the taking of the Town. During the firſt Agitations of their Fury, they committed unheard of Cruelties. And though the Generals us'd all their Endeavours to prevent them from defiling their Victory with Acts of bloody Inhumanity, yet they put all to the Sword, without diſtinction of Age or Sex: nothing at all moved with the Cries and Tears of an infinite Number of Miſerable People, who begg'd their Lives upon their Knees. And in hopes of finding Gold or ſome ſmall Jewels they rumaged the very Bowels of thoſe who they ſuſpected to have ſwallow'd them. And ſome there were ſo inhumanely Brutiſh, that meeting Women with Children of two or three Months old, they cut open their Bellies, and crammed the Innocent Babes into their Wombs. Such are the Calamities that attend the Sacking of Cities taken by Force: which therefore the Chriſtian Generals would have avoided, had not the Obſtinacy of the Governor been ſuch, as to hold out to the laſt Extremity.

But to return to the Ottoman Army, which lay not above a League from the Chriſtian Lines, in regard they did not imagine that the Town was carried in that manner as it was, they no ſooner received the News that the Chriſtians had Poſſeſſion of the Place, but they diſplay'd

diſplay'd a thouſand ridiculous Marks of their Deſpair, and in the mid'ſt of thoſe Fears wherein they were, leſt the Chriſtians ſhould force their Camp, they retreated in the Night.

It is ſaid that the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Joy for the taking of *Buda*, wrought ſo extreamly in him, that he never thought of purſuing the Enemy, whoſe Forces he had entirely defeated in that Conſternation wherein they then were; and that this was an Error which neither Monſieur *Turenne*, nor the Prince of *Conde* would have committed. But if we overlook the Lives of the greateſt Captains, we ſhall find perhaps, that they did not always make the beſt of thoſe Advantages which they might have drawn from their Victories. I have already ſhewn you one Example in the Perſon of the King of *Poland*, after the raiſing the Siege of *Vienna*: ſo far it is from truth, that *Hero*'s are always infallible. Therefore as it is not my Buſineſs to make a Panegyrick upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, I muſt acknowledge, that he forgot himſelf at this time, and knew not how to ſet Limits to his Joy.. But it is certain, that they who have upbraided him for this Slip, would have been no leſs diſcontented, had he not perform'd it; and would not have fail'd of crying out, had he been repulſed by the Turks, That two Victories were not to be won in one day; that it had been a raſh Attempt; and that thoſe other Great Men whom they favoured more than him, would have been contented to have won the Town, without hazarding an Overthrow, after ſo fortunate a Succeſs.

Some

Some time before the taking of *Buda*, the Preſident *Canon*, whom the Duke of *Lorrain* had ſent to *Paris*, return'd to the Camp. This Miniſter had Orders to demand the Reſtitution of the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*; or to manage ſome Accommodation, upon Conditions leſs ſevere than thoſe which the King of *France*, exacted by the Peace of *Nimeguen*. But he return'd without effecting any thing.

Therefore to go on with the Series of the Hiſtory, the Emperor was no ſooner inform'd of the happy Succeſs of the Chriſtian Arms, but adjudging rightly of the Conſternation that had ſeized the Grand Viſier, and all the Ottoman Forces, he was deſirous that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould go and Attack the Bridge of *Eſſeck*; and the Fort which lyes beyond the River. * The Duke having received the Emperor's Command, laid before him the great difficulty of performing his Orders without the Ruin of his Army; for that he had a vaſt deal of Ground to croſs, where there was neither Victuals nor Forage; but all theſe Remonſtrances ſignified nothing. So that after the Army had refreſh'd themſelves for two or three days, he Embark'd Ten thouſand Foot, together with Twelve Pieces of Cannon, Twenty Mortars, and great Store of Ammunition and Proviſion, to fall down toward the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, where the Forces of *Croatia* had Orders alſo to meet him. And the next day the Duke of

* *This Bridge which perhaps is the Biggeſt that is in the whole World, is in length* 8565 *German Paces, and* 17 *broad. It is built part over the* Danaw, *part over the River* Fennes, *and part over a vaſt Marſh: it was built by* Solyman *the Magnificent, in the year* 1521. *after which, a great part of it was Burnt by the Turks and Chriſtians.*

of *Lorrain* and the Elector of *Bavaria*, follow'd by Land with Four & twenty Thouſand Horſe, 6000 Hungarians, Twelve thouſand Foot, & Three thouſand Heydukes. The Army ſuffered extreamly in their March; and upon the Road they received Advice that the Turks had blown up the Fortifications of *Harwan*, not finding them in a Condition for Defence; that their Ammunition and Proviſions were Tranſported to *Agria*, and that the Grand Viſier was advantageouſly poſted on this ſide the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, upon the little River *Saubits*, having a Marſh behind him, and that his deſign was to lye in that Poſt, and obſerve the Motions of the Imperialiſts. At length the Army being arrived near *Tolna*, from whence the Enemy lay not above three Leagues; the Duke of *Lorrain* order'd a Bridge to be laid over the River *Saubits*, that he might engage the Grand Viſier to fight if it were poſſible. But not being able to ſubſiſt in that Poſt for want of Forage, he thought it not convenient to croſs the River; underſtanding beſides, that the Turks were retreated on this ſide the *Drave*, near to *Darda*, where they had a very Strong Caſtle built, on purpoſe to ſecure the Bridge of *Eſſeck*.

Therefore the Duke of *Lorrain*, taking another courſe, divided his Army into two Bodies, of which one was commanded by Prince *Louis* of *Baden*, with Orders to joyn the Croatian Troops, under the Command of Count *Scherffenberg*, and ſo to Attack *Five Churches*, which Town was taken, and afterwards *Darda* and *Capuſwar*; the latter upon Articles; the two firſt Surrendred at Diſcretion.

During

During this Expedition of Prince *Lewis*, the Duke of *Lorrain* croſſed the *Drave* at *Tolna*, over a Bridge of Boats, and returned to *Peſt* with his Army. From whence he ſent a Detachment of ſeveral Regiments, that marched ſlowly toward *Upper Hungary*, and the *Teyſſe*, where Count *Caraffa*, and General *Heuſler* were to take the Command of them, and attack *Segedin*. Which place Surrendred after Count *Veterani* had twice beaten the Infidels that attempted to relieve it.

The taking of *Buda*; the Conqueſts of the Venetians in *Dalmatia*, and in the *Morea*, which had been no leſs conſiderable than thoſe of the Imperialiſts in *Hungary*; and certain Jealouſies that the King of *Poland* had a deſign to declare War againſt the Port, occaſion'd ſuch hot Alarums at *Conſtantinople*, that the People began te murmur againſt the Grand Signior. There were the *Imans*, which are the Preachers in the *Moſques*, who upbraided him, that inſtead of being at the Head of his Armies, after the Example of his Predeceſſors, he kept himſelf ſhut up in his *Seraglio*, and never ſtirr'd out but to go a Hunting; and generally all Men complain'd of his being unſenſible of the common Good. But theſe Complaints were little regarded by the *Sultan*. Nevertheleſs, reflecting upon the Conſequences, as ſuch that might prove unlucky to him, he degraded the Mufti, accuſing him to have been the Cauſe of all the Misfortunes that had befallen the *Ottoman* Empire, out of his Complaiſance, at the Requeſt of the Grand Viſier, *Cara Muſtafa*, to Sign the Reſolution taken to begin the War, before he had Remonſtrated

ſtrated the ill Conſequences of it, as it was his Duty to have done. He was afterward Baniſh'd, and his Dignity conferr'd upon another. After which, the *Sultan* made great Reformations in the *Seraglio*; he retrench'd himſelf the vaſt Expences of his Hunting, and the Retinue that belong'd to it: He aſſembled divers Extraordinary Councils, to find out a way how he might recruit the Army in *Hungary*, and by his great Preparations, prevent the Misfortunes that threatned the Empire. In a Word, he omitted nothing that might conduce to his own Defence, and to repel the Enemy. But all theſe Precautions could not hinder the People from continuing their Murmurs; which encreas'd to that Degree, that they cry'd out aloud in the midſt of the Publick Streets, That the Enemy was always Victorious, and that the General of the Chriſtians was Born to be the Scourge of the *Muſſelmen*, ſo long as the Government and the Places of higheſt Truſt and Honour were in the Hands of ſuch Effeminate Perſons.

But if the Grand Signior were under ſuch Diſturbances at *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Vifier was no leſs turmoild in his Thoughts at *Belgrade*, whither he had retir'd himſelf. Deeply apprehenſive therefore of the loſs of his Head, he got a Writing Sign'd by all the Officers of his Army, which he ſent to the Port, in Juſtification of himſelf to the Sultan, that nothing had been done during the Campagne, but by their Advice, and according to the Reſolutions that had been taken in the Councils of War. To this Teſtimonial he added, That the Affairs of

Hungary

Hungary were in ſuch a deſperate Condition when the Ottoman Forces arrived there; beſides, that they arriv'd too late, that it ſeem'd as if they had been only ſent to be witneſſes of the loſs of *Buda*. Laſtly he promiſed the Grand Signior, That if he would vouchſafe to continue the Truſt of his Forces in his Hands, and give orders for their neceſſary Supplies, he would ſo order his Affairs, as to recover in one Campagne, perhaps, what all the other Viſiers had loſt, ever ſince the raiſing the Siege of *Vienna*. 'Tis true, he had caus'd a Report to be ſpread abroad, that he was going for *Conſtantinople*, and that he had already ſent away his Equipage before, but that was the thing which was fartheſt from his Thoughts. On the other ſide he made it his whole Study to avoid a Journey, which he could not chooſe but look upon as that which would prove mortal to him. And indeed, he knew ſo well how to perſuade the Sultan, that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary upon the Frontiers, that he obtain'd a Letter from his Highneſs, wherein after he had graciouſly given him to underſtand, that it was his real Opinion, that the unfortunate Succeſs of the laſt Campagne did not proceed from any Suſpicion of his Fidelity or Conduct, but that he attributed the loſs of ſo many ſtrong Holds to the Pleaſure of God, on purpoſe to puniſh the Ottoman Empire; he order'd him to ſtay in *Hungary*, and go on with the Fortifications of *Belgrade* and *Eſſeck*, and diligently to attend the Motions of the Imperialiſts till he could ſend him freſh Recruits, that might enable him to undertake ſome conſiderable Enterprize the next

next Spring, before the Chriſtians could be in the Field. The Viſier, who by this had got what he aim'd at, left no Stone unturn'd to put himſelf into a Condition to repel the Chriſtians, and to perform ſome conſiderable Undertaking before the Imperialiſts were ready for him. It lay ſo much upon him that the Face of Affairs ſhould change, that there was nothing which he omitted during the Winter to gain Fortune on his ſide at the beginning of the Spring. He us'd all the Endeavours imaginable to engage the Muſcovites and the Prince of *Tranſilvania* to continue the Peace between them and his Highneſs. He ſent an Aga to the King of *Poland*, who being got as far as the *Black Sea*, ſeem'd to threaten the Turks, that he intended to open a paſſage to *Conſtantinople*. He made ſeveral Propoſitions of Peace to the Court at *Vienna*, on purpoſe to lull the Emperor a ſleep. But finding that all his Negotiations and Stratagems could not prevent the States of *Tranſilvania* from concluding a Peace with the Emperor, nor hinder the League which the Polanders and Muſcovites had made together againſt the Turks; and laſtly, perceiving that there were no preparations at *Vienna* for the beginning of the Spring, he labour'd with ſo much diligence to have his Forces ready, that his Army had taken the Field before the Duke of *Lorrain*'s could be in a Condition to march. But all his Induſtry avail'd him nothing; for ſtill the Parties which he ſent abroad were continually beaten. And we may ſafely ſay, that unleſs it were the Caſtle of *Mohans* which he ſurpriz'd, and ſome Villages which he plun-

der'd and burnt, he got no other Advantage over the Imperialiſts.

As for the Chriſtian Army it was not ſo numerous as it had been the preceding Years, in regard a great part of the Men were Deſtroy'd and Dead, and for that the Forces of *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Swedeland*, were return'd home. But in regard that Army, as much leſſen'd as it was, had the Superiority of being Victorious, the Duke of *Lorrain* was aſſur'd of their Fighting with Confidence; that the Grand Viſier would be beaten notwithſtanding all his Precautions, and tho his Men were ſo freſh and luſty. And therefore full of hopes he departed from *Vienna*, where he had been to confer with the Emperor, and arriv'd at *Buda* the Fourth of *June*. Where after he had given Orders for the finiſhing of certain new Works which were already begun, he marched toward the *Drave* with one part of his Army, and ſo to the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, whither the Count *de Scherffenbergh* was to follow him with Nine Regiments. At the ſame inſtant that he arriv'd he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Fort near the Bridge, where he rais'd ſome new Works, and then burnt all the Bridges that were upon the *Moore*, and continuing his march up the *Drave*, he arriv'd at *Siclos* the Firſt of *July*, after ſeveral Skirmiſhes, and the loſs of ſome Men. The next day the Infantry got within half a League of a Fort, which the Imperialiſts poſſeſs'd upon the *Drave*; but it was impoſſible for them to advance any farther, in regard the Waters were out to that degree, that the Bridges were all Drown'd, and the Fort ſurrounded with ſuch an Inundation, that the Gariſon

Gariſon was forc'd to lie upon the Parapets. Which was no ſmall trouble to the Duke, who thought to have paſs'd his Army over in that place. In this perplexity therefore, to ſee the fair ſeaſon waſte, before he could do any conſiderable Action, he laid a deſign to Beſiege *Sigeth*; but the continual Rains, and the Innundation of the Rivers, having render'd the Moras's which encompaſſes that Place inacceſſible, he was forc'd to alter his Reſolution. Thereupon he determin'd again to paſs the *Drave*, as having no other courſe to follow; and ſo reſolv'd, notwithſtanding the many difficulties which he met with, he croſs'd the River within a few days after, being followed by the Duke of *Bavaria*. As for the River *Walpo*, not ſo difficult to be croſs'd, both Armies paſt it the 16th of the ſame Month. Which done, there being a ſmall Fort upon the ſame River, of the ſame Name, the Duke deſign'd to have reduc'd it, believing he ſhould meet with little or no Reſiſtance. But the Gariſon conſiſting of Four or Five Hunderd Turks, fired ſo terribly upon the Imperialiſts, that he not deeming it worth his while to looſe time in Beſieging it, continu'd his march towards *Eſſeck*. And after two or three days march, peſter'd with continual Skirmiſhes, after he had made his way through a thick Wood, by cutting down the Trees on both ſides, the two Armies came to Face the Enemy. But the Chriſtian Forces were far inferior to thoſe of the Grand Viſier, who was above Fourſcore Thouſand ſtrong, whereas the Imperialiſts were not above Five and Fifty Thouſand. Nevertheleſs, whether it were,

that the Duke was ignorant of the full ſtrength of the Enemy, or that he rely'd upon the Bravery of his own, and the Duke of *Bavaria's* Men, he was no ſooner entrench'd upon the Ground where both Armies lay encamp'd, but he advanc'd toward the firſt Line of the Turks Entrenchments, which was Twelve Hunderd Paces in Front, fortifi'd with a double Ditch extreamly wide, and a Pikes length in Depth, with two rows of rampir'd Palliſadoes, and a Battery of Fifty great Guns. This precipitate Action coſt the Lives of above Eight Hunderd Chriſtians, among whom were ſome Officers of Note. For beſides, that the Turks upon the approach of the Chriſtians, ſent forth a numerous Body, that cut in pieces the foremoſt of thoſe that advanc'd, they diſcharg'd in leſs than Three Hours above Four Thouſand Cannon Shot. However, after this loſs, the Duke of *Lorrain* having drawn up his Men in Order of Battle, about half a League from the Turks Camp, did all that he could to provoke them to Fight, though all to no purpoſe. For he ſaw by their Countenances they had no mind to leave their Entrenchments to hazard a Battel; as deeming it more proper to play their Artillery, and ply him with continual Detachements. So that the Duke, perceiving that the Turks, who had had a long time to Poſt themſelves the moſt advantagiouſly they could deſire, and had levell'd all the riſing Grounds, and cut down all the Woods that could ſhelter the Chriſtian Army, by that means every way expos'd to the Enemies great and ſmall Shot; thought it not convenient to Attack them in their

their Poſt; where it was impoſſible to get any advantage over them, as he had found by Experience. So that after Four and twenty Hours facing the Enemy, within the reach of the Cannon of their Camp, and that of the Fortreſs of *Eſſeck*, it was reſolv'd at a Council of War, not to expoſe the Army to any farther Inconvenience, but to wait a more favourable opportunity to Fight the Enemy, and immediately to decamp. However, the Duke of *Lorrain* made his Retreat in view of the Grand Viſier, who durſt not budge out of his Camp to diſturb him. The ſame day the Imperial Army arriv'd at *Walpo*, and two days after croſſing the River; the day following encamp'd within a League of *Mohats*; from whence he ſent a Detachement of Five Regiments to reinforce the Blockade of *Agria*. The Duke of *Lorrain* was thought too adventurous to paſs the *Drave*, and expoſe the Army without any neceſſity, to ſo many Hardſhips; and that it was too dangerous a Hazard. But theſe were Reflexions after the thing was done, and grounded only upon the ill Succeſs of the Enterpriſe. For the deſign of the Duke was to have drawn the Grand Viſier to a Battel; and if he had the ill luck not to ſucceed, and be oblig'd to a Retreat, all that can be concluded from thence is, That no Man is always Fortunate. However it were, we muſt acknowledge, that no Man could have Retreated with more Honour and Prudence than he did. And I would fain know, whether it be not an Action as much deſerving Applauſe, to underſtand how to Retreat with Honour and Diſcretion, as to gain a great Victory.

However after he had made his Retreat, beſides the Detachement which he ſent to reinforce the Blockade of *Agria*, he ſent another to ſecure *Siclos* and *Five-Churches*; and then reſolv'd to have beſieged *Sigeth*. But the ſame Reaſons that fruſtrated his Deſign before he had paſs'd the *Drave*, caus'd him to give it over the ſecond time. After which, he had a purpoſe to have paſs'd the *Danaw*, over the Bridge which had been built near *Mohats*. But that March was put off, upon freſh Intelligence, that the Grand-Viſier had paſs'd the Bridges near *Eſſeck* with his whole Army. So that now he reſolv'd once more to march toward the Infidels, and try if he could provoke 'em to an Engagement.

After the Retreat of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Grand-Viſier was once in a mind to have purſu'd the Imperialiſts; but then again believeing that this Retreat was but feign'd to draw him out of his Entrenchments, he let them retreat without any diſturbance. But then again as firmly believing, that the Retreat of the Chriſtians was a real Flight, he quitted the Faſtneſs where he lay, and encamp'd near *Darda*. Nevertheleſs, there being nothing which he dreaded more, then to come to Handy-Stroaks with the Chriſtians, he took great care to entrench himſelf, and kept himſelf very quiet in his Camp. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Lorrain*, who ſaw that the Viſier avoided fighting, and that there was no probability of drawing him out of his Trenches, unleſs he made uſe of ſome Stratagem, caus'd his Army ſometimes to advance, ſometimes to retreat, as if he had

had been afraid of the Enemy. He made ſeveral Detachements, ſome of which paſs'd the *Danaw*, others march'd towards *Siclos* and *Sigeth*, with Orders however not to remove from the Camp above a Leagues diſtance. But all theſe Counterfeit ſhews proving fruitleſs, and the Duke, beſides, ſeeing that his Men could not ſubſiſt in the Place where they were, he reſolv'd to retreat in good earneſt, and the Reſolution was no ſooner taken, but he began to decamp. The Viſier not being able hitherto, to penetrate the meaning of ſo many Motions of the Chriſtian Army, began to believe at laſt, that the Duke thought himſelf too weak to attack him, and that his flight was a ſign that he had no deſire to fight. So that being eager to make the beſt of the Advantage which he thought he had, he haſten'd out ſeveral Detachements to fall upon the Rear and Baggage of the Imperialiſts; and afterwards cauſing a greater number of Men to advance, the fight began inſenſibly.

Preſently Ten thouſand Spahi's, and five thouſand Janiſaries appear'd, who march'd directly againſt the Left Wing of the Imperialiſts, where the Duke of *Bavaria* commanded, with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. And theſe two great Bodies of Turkiſh Horſe and Foot were preceded by another great Body of Cavalry, whoſe charge was vigorouſly receiv'd by General *Dunewald*. In a moment after that, the Janiſaries poſted themſelves upon a riſing Ground with ſome Pieces of Cannon charg'd with Cartouches, which very much endammag'd the Left Wing, at what time the Ten thouſand Spahi's began to come on. But then the Duke

of *Bavaria*, who ſaw that now the Turks had a deſign to fight, extended the Front of his Wing proportionably as he ſaw that the Enemy extended theirs. And indeed the Turks fell on briskly and vigorouſly. But the Duke of *Bavaria* ſtood the Shock like a great Captain; and though he expos'd himſelf as much as any Common Soldier, and flew about from one place to another, he receiv'd only a ſlight Wound in the Hand with a Musket Bullet.

While the Left Wing was thus engag'd, the Duke of *Lorrain* drew up the Right Wing in the form of a Half Moon, the right Horn of which extended to the Enemies Flank, with whom they were already in cloſe fight; and the left Horn extended toward a Body of Spahi's and Janiſaries that were thundring down upon 'em. The Combat was long and Bloody; and it was obſervable, that the Turks fought in much better Order than they us'd to do, and with much more Courage; but for all that, they were forced to give ground. The Grand-Viſier, who never thought the Fight would have begun ſo ſoon, or that his Detachements would have charg'd the Chriſtian Army with ſo much precipitancy, had not drawn up all his Men in Battel Array; or rather, not imagining that the Chriſtians would have made that Reſiſtance which they did, was in ſuch a hurry, ſuch a ſtrange amaze, and gave his Orders ſo confuſedly, that it was impoſſible for thoſe that receiv'd 'em, to put 'em in execution; which caus'd ſuch a diſorder among the Turks, that the Duke and the Elector, knew well how to make their beſt advantage of it. So that while they were in that Confuſion, they overturn'd whole

whole Squadrons one upon another, and while Friends routed Friends, made a miſerable ſlaughter among 'em. On the other ſide, the Grand-Viſier, who was afraid of what he ſaw, and could not prevent it with all his Precautions, flew from place to place where there was moſt danger, to rally his Men, which he did in ſome meaſure; but in regard it was impoſſible he ſhould be every where, the Turks gave ground in many places, and the Field was ſoon clear'd by the Chriſtians: for thoſe of the Turks who had made the ſtouteſt reſiſtance, and fought with moſt fury, loſt their ground by degrees, and at length betook themſelves all to flight. They were purſu'd to their Camp, where the greateſt part were cut to pieces, and they that eſcap'd the Victor being chac'd from their Entrenchments, were driv'n like Sheep as far as the *Drave*; where they had been all cut to pieces, had not the night been more favourable to them. This Battel was fought very near the ſame place where the famous Battel of *Mohats* was fought in the year 1526, at what time *Soliman* the Second ſlew about Twenty thouſand Chriſtians; among whom was *Lewis* the Second King of *Hungary*. All the Enemies Artillery, conſiſting of Fourſcore Pieces of Cannon, and twelve Mortars, became a Prey to the Victor, with all their Proviſions and Riches. The Turks ſo little expected this defeat, that their Wagons were found without Horſes, their Elephants and Camels in their Stalls, and their Tents ſtanding. The Duke of *Bavaria* who enter'd among the firſt into their Camp, puſht on forward to the Grand Signior's Tent, which was eaſily known by

by the Richneſs of it, and other Marks particular to the Generals of the Infidels; where he found a little Cheſt, wherein were about Two Millions in Gold and Jewels. And in this Tent it was that *Te Deum* was ſung two days afterwards for joy of the Victory: and ſo they decamp'd the next day for fear of infection from the ſtench of the dead Bodies. For 'tis verily believ'd the Turks loſt near Twelve thouſand Men in this Battel.

At the ſame time alſo that the Chriſtians gain'd this conſiderable Victory in *Hungary*, the Seraſquier of the *Morea* was defeated by Count *Coningſmark*, and the Rout of that General occaſion'd ſuch a Conſternation among the Turks, that they quitted *Patras*, the Caſtles of the *Morea* and *Rumelia*, and the City and Caſtle of *Lepanto*.

The Grand-Viſier, who two days before, had intelligence of the Victory and Conqueſt of the *Venetians*, was at his wits end, to ſee himſelf vanquiſh'd in his own turn. For he foreſaw, that ſo many Loſſes one after another could not but prove fatal to him: and he had all the reaſon in the world to be aſſur'd of it; for the whole Army murmur'd againſt him, and was ready to Mutiny. Nevertheleſs being retreated toward *Eſſick* with about Forty thouſand Men, and rouſing up his Courage, that he might not altogether ſink under his bad Fortune, he endeavour'd to pacifie his Men, and to hearten 'em up at the ſame time. He told 'em, that the Misfortune which had befall'n 'em ought not to deject their Courage; that the chance of War was uncertain; that the miſ-

chief

chief was not ſo great as was imagin'd; that there was no City or Town loſt; and ſuppoſing that the defeat were greater then it was, the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that the Chriſtians would not be able to undertake any thing conſiderable. This Diſcourſe and ſome Money which he caus'd to be diſtributed among the Soldiers, gave them a little new Life, and for the time diſpell'd their Fears, ſo that they reſolv'd to defend themſelves; and the Grand-Viſier found himſelf in a Condition able in ſome meaſure to make head againſt the Duke of *Lorrain*. However it was not the Reſolution of the Turks that ſtopt the Duke in the Career of his Victories. For in regard that his Men were animated by Succeſs, 'tis moſt certain they would have continu'd Victorious, could they but have had an opportunity to fight; but the ſeaſon hinder'd them from farther falling upon the Enemy.

'Tis true the Duke of *Lorrain* did all he could to engage the Grand-Viſier to a ſecond Battel; but in regard he found it impoſſible, and for that the continual Rains and overflowings of the Rivers made the ways unpaſſable, he call'd a Council of War upon the Field of Battel, to conſider what to do. The greateſt part adviſ'd him to paſs the *Drave*; but the Trouble he met with in paſſing it the firſt time having ſilenc'd that Advice, the Duke reſolv'd to ſpend his time in repairing the Diſorders, which it was impoſſible but ſuch a Battel as that of *Mohats* had caus'd in his Army; till he could have a poſitive Accompt what was become of the Enemy. In the mean time he ſent a particular Relation

of

of the Battel to the Emperor, who return'd him his Congratulations and Thanks for ſo Glorious a Victory with his own Hands; and at the ſame time he alſo wrote his Acknowledgments to the Duke of *Bavaria*.

Great was the Rejoycing at *Vienna* for the Defeat of the Grand Viſier. But the Emperor's Joy was ſomewhat abated, by a Letter from Count *Caraffa*, then in *Upper Hungary*, wherein he gave his Majeſty to underſtand, that the Prince of *Tranſilvania* had declared for the Port, notwithſtanding the Treaty which I mentioned, by which the Prince *Abaffi* and his Territories were obliged to contribute to the Subſiſtance of the Imperial Forces, and to furniſh them with Ammunition and Money. This News was ſo much the more unwelcom to the Emperor, in regard he had reſolved, ſince the Treaty, to ſend his Forces to take up their Winter Quarters in *Tranſilvania*. Thereupon the Duke of *Lorrain*, who ſoon received the ſame ill Tidings, finding that he muſt give over the Deſigns which he had on the other ſide the *Drave*, without any heſitation, march'd away into *Upper Hungary*, with a Reſolution to reduce Prince *Abaffi* to his Duty. To this purpoſe he ſtrengthen'd the Places from whence he was to remove with good Reinforcements, and having left a flying Camp in thoſe Parts, by the Advice of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the reſt of the General Officers, he advanced toward the Frontiers of *Tranſilvania*.

Now in regard this was a tedious March, and the Ways bad, his Men ſuffer'd great Hardſhips; but the Advantages which they hoped

to

to find in their Quarters, made them endure all their Toil and Inconveniencies with Patience. However the Duke of *Lorrain*, who omitted nothing to diſappoint and diſtract the Counſels of the Enemy, made a ſhew of Marching toward *Temeſwaert*. Upon which, the Grand Viſier apprehending that the Duke had a Deſign to Beſiege that Place, ſent a numerous Detachement to ſecure it. Of which the Duke no ſooner received Intelligence, but perceiving the falſe March which he had cauſed the Grand Viſier to take, he ſent away immediate Orders to Count *Erdedi*, Governor of *Croatia*, to joyn Count *Dunewald*, and march forthwith to that Part where the Grand Viſier had leaſt Strength. Upon which, the Infidels, who expected no ſuch Viſit, were not a little ſurprized, and abandon'd *Eſſeck*. Upon which, Count *Dunewald* made himſelf Maſter of *Walpo*, which had been ſo often attempted before, and took in ſeveral Caſtles, and other petty Places, which muſt of neceſſity have been reduced at the beginning of the next Campagne.

But to return to the Duke of *Lorrain*'s March; He was no ſooner arrived upon the Frontiers of *Tranſilvania*, but he demanded Winter Quarters for his Soldiers; to which the States returned anſwer, That in regard their Country lay open and without defence, they could not hinder the Turks from entring into it, and committing all manner of Hoſtilities, if they ſhould openly Declare againſt them. But ſince the Imperialiſts were at their Gates, and that they were no longer in fear of the Ottoman Forces, they offer'd the Duke to allow Quarters

to

to ſome of his Regiments. Which tho' it were ſomething, yet the Duke was not fully ſatisfied. He therefore ſent them word, that he muſt be conſtrain'd to take by Force what they would not grant him in a Friendly way; and becauſe that ſort of Language produced no Effect, he advanced into the Country, and ſeized upon the Caſtle of *Samblock* in *Tranſilvania*, which lay in his Road; and after he had caus'd it to be fortified, to make himſelf Maſter of that Paſſage, he came before *Clauſſenberg*, which is a conſiderable City, where the States frequently meet; into which Place being reſolv'd to put a Gariſon, he propoſed his Reſolution to the Governor. To which the Commander made anſwer, That in regard he muſt have an Expreſs Order from Prince *Abaffi* for ſuch an Admiſſion, he deſir'd time to write to him. But the Anſwer not coming ſoon enough, and the Duke preparing for an Aſſault, the Governor open'd the Gates, & Prince *Abaffi*'s Gariſon being gone out, after certain Conditions agreed to, Three thouſand of the Imperialiſts enter'd with Drums beating, and Colours flying. Several other Cities alſo followed the Example of *Clauſſenberg*, and receiv'd Imperial Gariſons. All this while, Prince *Abaffi*, who had one of his Sons, a Hoſtage, at *Conſtantinople*, having given the Turks to underſtand the Condition of his Affairs, and how he was diſtreſs'd, ſollicited for Aid But while the Imperial Troops advanced and ſtill gain'd Ground, Count *Dunewald* having taken *Poſſega*, the capital City of *Sclavonia*, and the Turks having quitted ſome Caſtles, and ſeveral ſmall Towns between the *Drave* and the *Save*, the States

States of *Tranſilvania* reſolved to put themſelves under the Protection of the Emperor, fearing leſt the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſhould ſeize upon their beſt Towns, and ſo a Re-aſſignation of Winter Quarters was made. The Principal Articles that were Sign'd by the Duke of *Lorrain*, Prince *Abaffi*, and the States of *Tranſilvania*, were,

I. *That the Prince of* Tranſilvania, *his Children, all thoſe of his Houſhold, all his Nobility, and in in General, all the* Tranſilvanians *ſhould have free Liberty to Depart out of* Weiſſembourgh, *which is the uſual Reſidence of the Prince, and out of all the reſt of the Towns; to return, or retire where they ſhould think moſt Convenient.*

II. *That the Prince and* Michael Abaffi, *his Eldeſt Son, who had been declared his Succeſſor, ſhould be inveſted with the ſame Authority, and ſhould enjoy the ſame Power which had been Confirm'd to them by the Ottoman Port, and the States; and ſhould continue in the Exerciſe of it, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country.*

III. *That the People alſo ſhould be maintain'd in their Privileges and Franchiſes.*

IV. *That the four Religions receiv'd in* Tranſilvania *ſhall be upheld; the* Lutheran, Calviniſt, Roman Catholick, *and* Unitarians; *that is, the* Arrians *or* Socinians.

Beſides this General Treaty, there was one in particular touching Contributions and Quarters, by vertue of which, the Prince and States conſented

consented to Quarter and Pay during the Winter one part of the Imperial Forces, which the Duke should leave under the Command of the Duke of *Croy*, and Count *Scherffenberg*. After which the Duke quitted *Transilvania* with the rest of his Forces, and march'd into *Upper Hungary*, where they took up their Winter Quarters according to his Orders.

THE

THE LIFE OF Charles V.

DUKE of Lorrain and Bar, And *Generaliſſimo* of all the Imperial Forces.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE Grand Viſier, after the Battel of *Mohats*, retreated, as I have already ſaid, toward *Eſſeck*, with the Remainder of his Forces. He encamped at *Little Waradin*, and having call'd a Council of War, the reſult of the Conſultation was to ſend Twelve thouſand *Spahi's*, with every one a Sack of Corn behind him, to endea-

vour the Relief of *Agria* with Proviſion and Men, as being Block'd up by the Chriſtians. But though the Ottoman Soldiers had generally teſtified ſuch an Extraordinary Reſolution to oppoſe the Chriſtians, after the Harangue which the Grand Viſier made them, and the Diſtribution of the Money which he gave them; yet the *Spahi*'s were ſo afraid of meeting and being forced to fight with the Chriſtians, ſo accuſtomed to Vanquiſh, that they refus'd to march. However, becauſe they durſt not let it be ſeen that it was out of fear of being beaten, that they refus'd to obey, they pretended that three Months Pay was detain'd from them, which was the only Reaſon that conſtrain'd them to diſobey the Orders of their General; and at the ſame time they demanded their Pay after a moſt tumultuous and mutinous manner. This Revolt, which began only in bare Murmuring, encreaſed inſenſibly to that Degree, that the whole Army was in an Uproar. They caſt their Eyes upon a Leader, who was conſtrain'd to appear at the Head of thoſe Rebellious Mutineers; and there was one Baſſa, who being in the Grand Viſier's Tent, was ſo bold as to tell him, in the Preſence of two other Baſſa's, the Treaſurer of the Army, and the Secretary of State, 'That the Muſulmen deſir'd to be 'Paid their Money, and that they would no 'longer endure, that above Fifteen thouſand 'Bags which had been taken out of the Imperial 'Treaſury, and ſent into *Hungary*, ſince the Be-'ginning of the Campagne, ſhould be expen-'ded to enrich him and his Creatures, while 'They Sacrificed their Lives for the Defence of 'the State.

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The Grand Viſier, who at another time would ſoon have made the Baſſa repent of ſuch an Inſolent Reproach, had ſo much power over himſelf as to diſſemble his Reſentment; and therefore ſaid no more to him, but that it was only a Pretence which the Soldiers laid hold of; that he himſelf was a Man of deeper Judgment than not to ſee it, but however, that inſtead of three Months Pay, he would order them to be paid ſix. This Anſwer, ſo ſmooth and ſoft for a General who has no leſs Authority in his Camp than the Grand Signior himſelf, had nothing of Prevalency to ſoften the rugged Baſſa; who therefore reply'd in the ſame Language, 'That 'he was not worthy the Place which he held, 'ſince the ill Succeſs of the Campagne concluded with ſo much Ignominy, or rather which 'they were not in a condition to conclude, 'ſince they were conſtrain'd to fly before 'their Enemies, could be attributed to nothing 'but his Cowardice and want of Conduct. And at laſt, he declared to him, That the Army would no longer acknowledge him for their General, and therefore demanded of him the Seal of the Empire, and the Standard of *Mahomet*.

In this Danger wherein the Grand Viſier found himſelf, he knew not preſently what courſe to take; nevertheleſs, he made this quick Anſwer, 'That for the Marks of his So'veraignty, he could not Surrender them to 'any one but the Grand Signior himſelf, who 'had entruſted them in his Hands. Nevertheleſs, to avoid the Fury of the Soldiers, he Em-

bark'd upon the *Danaw*, as ſoon as Night came, and ſo betook himſelf to *Belgrade*, from whence he departed immediately for *Conſtantinople*.

The Viſier was no ſooner gone, but the Chieftains of the Rebellious Army diſpatch'd away ſix Commiſſioners, who were no ſooner arrived at the Port, but they declar'd to the Grand Signior, That they would no longer obey *Solyman*, nor the *Caimakan* his Lieutenant. They demanded next, that *Siaoux* Baſſa, whom they had made choice of for their chief Captain, might be put in the Grand Viſier's Place, and *Cuprogli* his Brother-in-Law, in the Place of the *Caimakan*; and carrying their Inſolence as high as it was poſſible for any Ottoman Subjects, they added, That his Highneſs had nothing to do, but to reſolve one way or t'other; for that the Army had given them no longer than a Months time to wait for his Anſwer.

How Inſolent ſoever this Demand were, and how unwilling ſoever the Sultan might have been at another time, to have given the Command of his Army to *Siaoux Baſſa*, nevertheleſs he now found himſelf conſtrain'd, in this diſorder of his Affairs, to ſend him the Patent of Grand Viſier, and the Standard of *Mahomet*, which *Solyman* had already reſign'd. Nor was this ſufficient to appeaſe the Mutineers. For above Ten or Twelve Thouſand Spahi's or Janiſaries, having left the Army, marched directly for *Conſtantinople*, under the leading of one they called *Little Mahomet*, being follow'd by a Baſſa, with Eight Thouſand Horſe. And the Soldiers that ſtaid with *Siaoux*, compell'd

the

the new Viſier to take the ſame Road, to demand of the Grand Signior the Head of *Solyman*, and ſome others of the General Officers.

It would be a difficult thing to make a true Relation of the Diſturbances that were then in *Conſtantinople*, and the Trouble the Grand Signior was in. So that although he were convinc'd that *Solyman* was not Guilty, he was compell'd to cauſe him to be Strangled; and to ſend the Head of that Unfortunate Viſier to his Rebellious Soldiers. He abandon'd to their Fury the Principal Officers, whoſe Lives they obſtinately demanded. He paid them all the Money which he got from them, which were Arreſted, and who were daily Tortur'd to ſqueeze more out of their Bones. Nor could all theſe low and poor Submiſſions prevent *Mahomet* himſelf from being depos'd; in whoſe ſtead *Solyman* his Brother was advanced to the Ottoman Throne, who had been ſhut up in a Dungeon above Forty Years.

During theſe Commotions in *Conſtantinople*, the Duke of *Lorrain* having ſettled his Soldiers in their Winter-Quarters, departed from *Tranſilvania*, to viſit the Blockade of *Agria*. Where he was no ſooner arriv'd, but he was wellcom'd with all the great and ſmall Shot from all the Poſts of the Blockade. By the Noiſe of which the Governor of *Agria*, being informed of the Dukes arrival, ſent an Aga to him at the ſame time to Compliment him, with Orders alſo to let him know, That 'twas in vain for him to tire his Men in a Seaſon ſo inconvenient; that therefore he advis'd him to draw off; ſince it

was to no purpoſe for him to continue in his obſtinate Reſolution to make himſelf Maſter of a Place, which he had block'd up for ſo long time without any Succeſs, he being reſolved to defend it to the laſt Extremity. To which the Duke caus'd this Anſwer to be returned, That he was not come before the place but only to ſtreighten it more cloſely, and that he ſhould find in a little time, which of the two was the moſt Reſolute, he that was reſolv'd to Attack, or he that was ſo well reſolv'd to defend the Place. In ſhort, the Duke rode round the Town to view it, and advanc'd to the very Counterſcarp; yet not a Man from the Gariſon durſt adventure to diſcharge a ſingle Musket. However, as his preſence was not neceſſary, after he had given Order for a cloſer Blockade, he departed for *Presburgh*, where the Emperor then reſided, in order to the Crowning of Archduke *Joſeph*, his Eldeſt Son, King of *Hungary*.

* *Agria* Capitulated the 28th of *Novemb.* 1687 and the Gariſon went forth the 9th of the next Month; which was the ſame day that the Archduke was Crown'd.

Nor was the Governor of *Agria* ſo reſolute as he ſeem'd to be; for ſome time after the Dukes departure he deſired to * Capitulate. And the day that he went out of the place, he proteſted, That he and all the Gariſon had ſubſiſted without Bread for Seven Months together. The Duke of *Lorrain* was receiv'd at *Presburg* by their Majeſties, with all the Marks of Joy that could be expreſs'd. Some few days after he went to *Vienna*, and thence to *Inſpruck* to the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, his Wife; the Differences about Precedency not permitting him to be preſent at the Coronation of Prince *Joſeph*; which Ceremony was perform'd the Ninth of *December*.

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The new Viſier flatter'd himſelf that the Depoſal of *Mahamet* the IV. would reſtore Tranquillity to the Ottoman Empire; but he found that his Expectations and his Hopes fail'd him. However, as it was his Intereſt to keep all quiet at *Conſtantinople*, he ſent thither Two Thouſand Men, under the Conduct of *Little Mahomet*, and ſome time after he follow'd himſelf. But no ſooner had he left the Army, but the Spahi's and Janiſaries, who lay encamped ſome Miles from the City, having Disbanded themſelves, got into it in ſmall Companies; ſo that in a little time, they amounted to above Five Thouſand; and theſe committed Infinite Diſorders. *Siaoux* himſelf had much ado to pacifie this licentious Rabble, though they had choſen him for their Chieftain. Becauſe he went about to tell them their Duty, they told him boldly, That he began betimes to follow the ill Example of his Predeceſſors; that he muſt expect as unfortunate an End as Theirs; and upon ſome tart Anſwers that he gave them, they demanded his Head of the Sultan; and being divided into ſeveral Quarters of the City, they committed moſt dreadful Hoſtilities. *Solyman* the III. was ſtrangely confounded at the ſight of ſo many Diſorders; and ſeriouſly acknowledg'd, that having been a Priſoner for Forty Years together, he underſtood not how to Govern an Empire; and beſides, that his Power not being well ſettled, he knew not what courſe to take to pacifie thoſe mad-Men of Soldiers. However, in regard thoſe Mutineers had made the detaining of their Pay the pretence of their Rebellion, care was taken to

diſtribute among them a great part of what was their due; and after the Sultan had try'd by all the ways of Mildneſs and Sweetneſs to reduce 'em to their Duty, they were at length prevail'd upon to depart *Conſtantinople*, and take their Winter-quarters where they were aſſign'd 'em. After this, they made it their whole buſineſs to get all things ready againſt the Spring; They made new Levies of Men. *Haſſan*, the new Baſſa of *Aleppo* was nominated Seraſquier in *Hungary*, according to the uſual Cuſtom of the Ottoman Empire, which is, That that Baſſa is always to Command the principal Army in the abſence of the Grand Viſier. And in a Divan aſſembled on purpoſe, it was reſolv'd, That in regard the Imperialiſts care as little for Sieges, as the Turks did for pitch'd Fields, they ſhould after an extraordinary manner ſupply thoſe Gariſons in their Power with Men, to the end they might draw out Detachements from thence, as neceſſity requir'd, to make up ſmall Parties to beat the Field, and harraſs the Duke of *Lorrain*. Chiaux's were ſent to the Princes of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, to give them notice of the Advancement of the new Emperor, and to ſollicit them at the ſame time to ſtick cloſe to the Intereſts of the Port. And in regard that *Solyman* ſaw well that ſo long as he ſhould be at War with the Emperor, he ſhould never enjoy any Tranquillity during his Reign, he declar'd, That he Condemn'd the Declaration of War which had been made againſt him by *Mahomet* the IV. before the Truce was expir'd; adding withal, That to redeem the Credit which the Ottomans had loſt by the

Breach

Breach of thoſe Treaties, it could be no ſhame for them to ſignifie to the Emperor, that they were ready to enter into a Negotiation of Peace, to ſtop the Effuſion of that Blood which was every day ſhed.

Theſe prudent Precautions gave ſome Hopes, that *Solyman* III. being aſcended the Throne, would ſettle a Calm in the Empire; and that in caſe the Emperor would not conſent to a Peace, which he ſo freely offer'd of himſelf, that he ſhould find himſelf in a Condition to withſtand him, and to ſtop him in the Career of his Conqueſts. There was but one Obſtacle that could make him fear the Diſappointment of his Precautions; which was, that the Imperial Treaſury was almoſt exhauſted. The Army was not wholly pay'd off; and a great part of the Mutineers remain'd ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, to have Right done them. There was a neceſſity of keeping ſeveral Armies on foot; and of vaſt Expences for the Preparations againſt the next Campagne. The only Expedient which the new Viſier could find was to lay new Impoſitions upon the People; the Immenſe Sums which had been already heap'd together, by conſtraint upon the People, to pay the Taxes laid upon them, being not ſufficient to ſatisfie the Soldiers. And theſe Impoſitions they were, that renewed the foregoing Troubles after ſo horrid a manner, that *Conſtantinople* was within a little of being ſackt, and the new Sultan maſſacred by the Rebels. The Spahi's that ſtaid in the City, joyning with the Militia, and a part of the Rabble, themſelves depos'd the Principal Officers from their Employments; and having beſieg'd

ſieg'd the Palace of *Siaoux*, that new Viſier was butcher'd after the moſt miſerable manner in the World. I only ſpeak of ſome part of theſe Diſorders in *Conſtantinople*. Upon this the Grand-Signior took off the new Impoſitions; and this begat him ſo much the Love of the People, that having ſet up the Standard of *Mahomet*, he rally'd together about the Seraglio above a hundred thouſand Men; which though for the moſt part unarmed, ſhew'd however ſo great a Reſolution, that the greateſt part of the Mutineers were diſperſt or cut in pieces. After which, *Solyman* created *Iſhmael* Baſſa Grand-Viſier, a Perſon much in the Peoples favour, which in a manner reſtor'd the City to its former tranquility. However this new Miniſter was laid aſide in a little time after, and *Muſtapha* Baſſa was advanced in his Room. But the Baſſa, who commanded at *Belgrade*, and had under him the *Hungarian* Army, upon the news of the new Viſiers advancement, immediately mutiny'd, and ſet all in a flame, pretending that the Dignity was his due, after he had obtain'd by his Artifices and Intreagues, the Depoſal of *Iſhmael* Baſſa. So that the Repoſe which the Ottoman Empire ſeem'd to enjoy, being but a Shadow of Peace, which might have been diſſipated in a moment, there was juſt reaſon to hope, that if the Emperor had been as well ſerv'd then as he was in the preceding Campagnes, it would have been no difficult thing for him to have continu'd his Conqueſts; and to have render'd himſelf Maſter of all *Hungary*. But two unlucky and unexpected Circumſtances gave him cauſe to fear that he ſhould not be in

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a Condition to make his Advantage of the Troubles and Diviſions among the Infidels.

The firſt was, That the Elector of *Bavaria* had reſolv'd not to take the Field. For though there had been a Regulation already made of the Body of the Army which he was to command, and that the General Officers that were to ſerve under him were nominated, yet at the ſame time that he was expected at *Vienna*, there came a Courier from him, who brought the news, that it was impoſſible for him to march into *Hungary*, by reaſon of the Marriage of his Siſter with the Duke of *Tuſcany*.

It was immediately ſuſpected, that the Elector, who had ſo highly ſignaliz'd himſelf in the preceding Campagnes, was grown weary of ſerving under another General; and that the Marriage of the Princeſs his Siſter was only a Pretence, which he was willing to lay hold of, that he might not be oblig'd to ſhare his Honour with the Duke of *Lorrain*: and it was thought, the Elector by this deſign'd the ſole Command to himſelf. In ſhort, it was then reported, that a Miniſter of State had propos'd to the Emperor to make him *Generaliſſimo* of his Armies, and to keep the Duke of *Lorrain* at *Vienna* to be Preſident of his Council of War, in the Room of Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, who was for that purpoſe to have been diſcharg'd from that Employment.

However it were, in regard the Emperor was far from doing that Injuſtice to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to whom he was to Sacrifice, as I may ſo ſay, Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, by ſending him to the Dyet at *Ratisbonne*, under the Character

Character of his First Commissioner, only out of a Design to remove him out of the sight of an Enemy, of whom he would have had just reason to Complain; and for that he had given a thousand Testimonies of his Affection for that Prince, and of the Confidence he had in his Counsels; for these Reasons it was, that the Resolution of the Duke of *Bavaria*, whom he would have preferr'd before any other but the Duke of *Lorrain*, whose presence was so necessary in *Hungary*, troubled his Majesty very much.

The next Circumstance which was worse then t'other, was this, that the Duke of *Lorrain* was seiz'd at *Vienna* by a Distemper so dangerous, that all Men were afraid for the Life of that great Prince. The frequent Vomitings, and other scurvy Symptoms which accompany'd his Disease, made Men suspect at the same time, that he was Poyson'd. And in regard the Physicians unanimously despair'd of his Cure, the Emperor began to be pensive past Consolation. However such was the Care of of those that attended him, and the Remedies apply'd so prevalent, that at length he began to mend. But then when it was thought the worst had been past, he fell into a Relapse so dangerous, that the Physicians gave him quite over. 'Tis true, that at first they would have conceal'd his Sickness from the Queen Dowager of *Poland*; but when they thought there was no hope of Life, a Courier was sent away to *Inspruck* to let her understand his Condition, that she might have the satisfaction to see her Husband before he expir'd; which brought her in haste to

Vienna.

Vienna. But fortunately the Judgments of the Phyſitians prov'd Erroneous; for the Duke mended of a ſuddain. But ſtill the Indiſpoſition of Body, and the great weakneſſes under which he labour'd were ſuch, that the Emperor well ſaw, that he could not be in a Condition to endure the Hardſhips of a Campagne, though perfectly recover'd in his Health. So that while he waited to regain the Duke of *Bavaria*, he gave the Command of the Army to *Caprara*.

However all this while there had been no care wanting at *Vienna*, to prepare againſt the Campagne; for they would not hear of any Peace with the Port. True it is, that the Grand Viſier *Solyman*, after his Defeat, had written a Letter full of Elogies to the Duke of *Lorrain*, wherein he acknowledged, that the Loſſes which the Empire had ſuſtain'd, proceeded only from the Grand Signior's Breach of Faith in violating the Treaties between the two Empires; but that having ſufficiently paid for it, by all the fatal Events that had happen'd for Four years together, ſince the Beginning of the War, it was now time to ſtop the Effuſion of Blood that had been ſpilt on both ſides: but the Emperor would vouchſafe no Anſwer to the Viſier. Quite the contrary, he was in Treaty with ſeveral Princes and States of the Empire, for a conſiderable Number of their Men, to recruit his waſted Regiments. He had rais'd Money to Pay his Soldiers; and at length he knew ſo well how to manage the Duke of *Bavaria*, that he not only granted him Three thouſand Men to recruit his old Regiments, but he conſented to march himſelf into

into *Hungary*, where the Turks began to move. All the Forces, being in their Winter Quarters, except those which were left in *Transilvania*, had Orders to meet at the Rendezvous appointed near *Esseck* about the Beginning of *June*: where the Imperial Army was muster'd Threescore thousand Men.

When the Duke of *Bavaria* arrived in *Hungary*, he found that the Turks had quitted *Pettie-Waradin*, and *Issock*, which Count *Caprara* had Besieged; and which, though it were but a small Town, yet might have made a far longer and stouter Resistance, considering the situation of the Place. The Imperial Army was divided into two Bodies; of which the one, that was very considerable, was commanded by the Elector, and the other by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who had Orders to pass the *Save* and Besiege *Gradisca*, which the Turks immediately quitted, after they had set fire to the Town: on the other side, the Duke of *Bavaria* laid Siege to *Belgrade*, and carried it by Storm the 6th of *September*.

But at *Constantinople*, whatever Industry or means *Solyman* III. could make use of, to appease the Disorders that Ruin'd the Ottoman Empire, he could not possibly accomplish his Desires. The Punishments which he had inflicted to reduce the Rebels to their Duty, did but the more provoke 'em. The mild and gentle means which he had put in practice, render'd 'em more Insolent; and the most part of the Bassa's taking their Advantage of these Troubles, were revolted in *Egypt*, *Asia*, *Natolia*, & other places, where they endeavoured to make themselves

ſelves ſo many Soveraigns. The Soldiers deſerted their Colours every day or mutiny'd; for that in this Condition of Affairs, it was impoſſible to find Money for their Subſiſtance, as they deſired: And they whoſe Fidelity was to be rely'd upon were ſo cow'd, that they ſuffered themſelves to be beaten every where.

Add to this, that beſides that the new Sultan had no Kindneſs for War; for he had been bred up all his Life-time in Nothing elſe, but reading the Alchoran, and other Books of the Law of *Mahomet*; he felt his Throne in ſuch a tottering Condition, that he thirſted after Peace.

Then again *Mahomet* IV. was no ſooner degraded, but he highly blam'd the Conduct of his Miniſters in regard to the Emperor, againſt whom by their advice he had declar'd War, before the Expiration of the Truce. He had in his Proſperity often propoſed to his Miniſters, that ſince nothing but a Peace could ſave the Ottoman Empire, ſo near declining, it could be no ſhame to the Muſſelmen to deſire it of the Victor. He had recommended it to his new Viſiers, upon their Creation, in particular, to make Overtures of Peace to the Chriſtian Generals upon all Occaſions. He had ſollicited the Foreign Miniſters at the Port, and ſuch Princes to whom he ſent the News of his Advancement to the Throne, to ſecond him in ſo good a Work. And foreſeeing that the Chriſtians would begin their Campagne with the Siege of *Belgrade*, he had recommended it to the Baſſa that Commanded there, to omit no opportunity

portunity of engaging them by an Accommodation to conclude a War that had coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure. In purſuance of theſe Requeſts, ſeveral Foreign Princes began to interpoſe their Mediation. The Grand Viſier and Baſſa of *Belgrade* breath'd after Peace no leſs than the Grand Signior, and had neglected nothing to bring their Deſign to a happy Concluſion. But in regard the Emperor had other Things in Proſpect, he always rejected the Propoſitions that were made him, how advantageous ſoever they were. Any other Prince perhaps but *Solyman*, would have taken theſe Repulſes in diſdain; and would have rather ran the *Riſco* of being depoſed, than beg a Peace from them that ſcornfully refus'd it him. But the welfare of his Empire, or rather his own Repoſe being of more value to him, than Honour purely Airy, there was no Stone which he left unturn'd to render the Emperor flexible. And at laſt to try the only way left, and the moſt probable to ſucceed, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Buda*, to give his Majeſty notice of his Advancement to the Throne, and withall to deſire a Peace.

Now at the ſame time that the Emperor had advice of the Sultan's Reſolution, the Elector of *Cologne* died. At what time the Cardinal of *Furſtenbergh*, having been elected Co-Adjutor to that Archbiſhop, pretended that the ſame Members of the Chapter that had elected him, ought to name him Elector in the room of him who was deceaſed, though the Pope had refus'd to Confirm their Election, and though the Elector deceaſed, had recommended by his

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Laſt Will, Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*. And at length, after ſeveral Conteſts, the Nomination was agreed: for that of Twenty four Voices, Cardinal *Furſtenbergh* had Thirteen, and Prince *Clement* but Eleven. But in regard that the Cardinal was not qualified by the Laws of the Country; and for that alſo by the ſame Laws of the Country, it was requiſite that the Cardinal ſhould have had two Thirds of the Voices to have carried it from Prince *Clement* by * *Poſtulation*, the Nomination was not adjudg'd lawful.

* *When any one is put up to be Elected who is not One and twenty years of Age, or not a German Born, or not a Canon of the Cathedral who has ſeveral Benefices; theſe four Conditions together, or one, or more, make that which is call'd* Poſtulation. *Cardinal* Furſtenbergh *had Right by one Condition, as he was Biſhop of* Strasburgh. *Prince* Clement *had none by that Condition; but for his not being One and twenty he was diſpens'd with for that, from* Rome. See the Univerſal Monarchy of *Lewis* XIV. Tom. 2.

Thereupon the King of *France*, who deſign'd to have an Elector of *Cologne* that ſhould be a devoted Creature of his own, ſuch as the Cardinal of *Furſtenbergh* was, had gain'd by Gifts and Bribes all the Members of the Chapter, that had given their Voices for the Cardinal. Nevertheleſs, finding that notwithſtanding the Plurality of Voices, the Nomination was conteſted and look'd upon as void; he reſolv'd by force to advance the Cardinal to the Electorate, and ſet himſelf above the Laws, in caſe the Pope, to whom the Buſineſs was referr'd, ſhould give his Deciſion in favour of *Clement*; as the King had ſome reaſon to apprehend. To this purpoſe, he preſently declar'd by his *Manifeſto's*

which he preſented to the States General, and the Dyet of *Ratisbonne*, that he look'd upon the Enemies of the Cardinal of *Furſtenberg*, as His: and not contented with menacing, he caus'd his Army to advance towards *Cologne*, expecting the Iſſue of the Affair that was to be decided at *Rome*.

Upon this, the Emperor, who till then, had clos'd his Ears to all Propoſals of Peace that were preſented to him from the Port, and who ſaw well, by the carriage of Affairs, that he ſhould infallibly have a War with *France*, that he might not have two Enemies to deal with at once, now thought it not convenient to reject the Offers that were made him by the Sultan, and therefore determin'd that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould go to *Buda*, to give Audience to his Ambaſſadors.

And indeed the choice which his Imperial Majeſty made of the Duke, was a certain Sign that he had a deſire to terminate the War, if he might have an advantageous Peace. For it is certain, That there was nothing which the Duke more paſſionately deſir'd. And he had often brought the Emperor to agree with him in this, That he got nothing but deſolate Countries in *Hungary*, while he ſuffer'd conſiderable Loſſes toward the *Rhine*, by the continual Claims and Enterprizes of the King of *France*. He had laid before him the Deſigns of that Monarch: He had pointed out to him the Methods he had taken ſince the Peace concluded at *Nimeguen*, to make himſelf Univerſal Monarch; and that there could not be too much haſt made to limit his Ambitious Deſigns. And certainly, though all

all that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſaid, had not really been true, it was ſo highly his Intereſt, that the Emperor ſhould turn his Arms againſt *France*, that he could not chooſe but deſire a Concluſion of the War with the Turks.

But the Emperor, who liſten'd after nothing but Fame, and ſaw nothing before his Eyes but Victory and Triumphs in *Hungary*, how deſolate and ruin'd ſoever the Country was, of which he got Poſſeſſion, had ſhut his Eyes to all that the Duke of *Lorrain* repreſented to him, though he were ſatisfi'd in the Wiſdom of his Counſels. For he imagin'd, that after the K. of *France* had ſeiz'd upon *Strasbourg*, and *Luxemburgh*, he would not adventure to Undertake any thing more. And that when he came to reflect upon the great Victories, which his Imperial Majeſty won every day from the Ottomans, he would be afraid to buckle with a Prince ſo favour'd by Fortune. But when he found that the King of *France* was reſolv'd to ſupport the Cardinal of *Furſtenbergh*, whom he had a long time look'd upon as the capital Enemy of the Empire; when he ſaw that the French were upon their march toward *Cologne*, and that he could no longer doubt but that he muſt have a War upon the *Rhine*, he then without any farther Heſitation, thought it high time to hearken to the Propoſitions of Peace that were made him by the Grand Signior, ſo that they were very Advantageous; and to avoid the ſpinning out of the Treaty, he made choice of the Duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe Intereſt it was to haſten the Affair.

There was also another Reason which made the Emperor cast his Eye rather upon the Duke than any other Minister of State, to Treat with the Sultans Ambassadors. For the Turks had an Opinion, That the Duke who was become the Terrour of their Armies, not being able to take the Field, was no more in a condition to Command the Army; and that this was the main Reason which constrain'd his Majesty to think of a Peace. In short, they sent to *Constantinople* that the Duke would never recover of his Sickness, and the *Imans* cry'd out already in their Mosques, That they had all the reason in the world to hope that now their Prophet was appeas'd, since the General of the Christians was at the Gates of Death. And therefore it was of absolute Necessity that the Duke should appear, to make a more Advantageous Peace. So that these two Reasons joyn'd together, made the Emperor make choice of the Duke before any other, for this Important Negotiation.

And now the Duke, recovering his Strength by degrees, was no sooner in a Condition to endure the Inconveniencies of a Journey, but he departed from *Vienna*, together with the Queen Dowager his Wife, and safely in a short time arriv'd at *Buda*. They that were not Privy to the Secret, were of Opinion, that he was going to the Army; and his Enemies publickly reported, that he had never intended any such thing at that time, before he was perfectly recover'd, but that the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had so honourably behav'd himself the year before, in the Battel against the Turks, should

not

not acquire new Honour by the taking of *Belgrade*. But beſide that the Duke of *Lorrain* was not in a condition to endure the Toils of War; beſides that the Queen his Wife, accompanied him in his Journey; and that he had conſented that the Duke of *Bavaria* ſhould command the Army in *Hungary*, his obliging and generous Behaviour toward that General, juſtified him to all the World. For although he went to viſit the Camp at *Belgrade*, he came away the day before the Aſſault, becauſe he would leave the Elector all the Honour of the Conqueſt.

And now the Duke and the Turkiſh Ambaſſadors being arriv'd at *Buda*, they offer'd the Duke of *Lorrain* to ſhew him their Commiſſion from the Grand Signior to negotiate a Peace with him. At which time it was, that freſh News came that the Diſorders and Confuſions at *Conſtantinople* were broken out again; That the Janiſaries had maſſacred a great many of the Officers of the Divan; that they had made an Attempt to Kill the new Viſier, who was forced to make his Eſcape into *Aſia*; And as News daily encreaſes, it was alſo farther added, that the new Sultan was depoſed, and that *Muſtapha*, the Eldeſt Son of *Mahomet* IV. was ſet up in his room.

This News, as uncertain as it was, might perhaps have wrought with any other than the Duke of *Lorrain*, to ſurceaſe the Negotiation that had brought him to *Buda*. And the Turks, though accuſtom'd to deſire Peace, and to detain to that effect, Ambaſſadors in Hoſtage, found themſelves compell'd to ſend firſt of all,

and for a Pretence of ſending, to lay hold on the Occaſion that offer'd of Complementing the Emperor upon the Acceſſion of their new Maſter to the Throne, which they never were accuſtom'd to do at other times. However, this unuſual Forwardneſs apparently ſhew'd that the Port was at a great Stand. And theſe new Commotions which had ſome appearance of probability, had been ſufficient ground on the other ſide to let his Imperial Majeſty ſee, that it was for his Intereſt at that time to have preferr'd War before Peace. But all theſe Conſiderations never mov'd the Duke in the leaſt. He was ſtill of opinion, that all that could be gain'd from the Turks by a War, would not countervail the Loſſes which they ſhould run the hazard of ſuſtaining in *Germany*. And therefore conſidering that the Emperor could not maintain two Wars at a time, it was good Policy to grant a Peace to thoſe that ſought it, to the end he might bend all his Power againſt *France*. Therefore the Duke caus'd this to be ſaid to the Ambaſſadors, That he had not left the Imperial Court but to negotiate a Peace with them, that might conduce to the repoſe of both Empires.

But juſt as he was about to enter into a Conference with the Turkiſh Miniſters, his Ague unfortunately ſeizing him, he was conſtrain'd to return to *Eſſeck*, from whence he wrote to the Emperor that he reſolv'd to tranſport himſelf to *Gran* through *Sclavonia* and *Croatia*, and ſo to *Inſpruck*, till he were perfectly recover'd. Upon which, Count *Caraffa* had Orders to Conduct the Ambaſſadors to *Presburgh*.

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In the mean while, the King of *France*, who ſince the Truce for Twenty years, concluded in the year 1684. ſeem'd deſirous to obſerve his Conditions with the Empire, thought it not convenient to interrupt the Progreſs of the Emperor's Arms againſt the Infidels, deeming it more for his Advantage, to leave him engag'd in a War, of which he had run the hazards, and of which the Succeſs had been too doubtful ſome years before, then to break a Truce that ſuffer'd him quietly to enjoy the Fruits of his Conqueſts, and gave him time to fortifie his Frontiers, which he had ſo conſiderably enlarg'd ſince the Peace. He flatter'd himſelf, that the Emperor, contented with not being croſs'd in his Deſigns, would ſuffer him to reap in Peace all the Advantages which the Death of the Elector of *Cologne* ſeem'd to ſecure to theCardinal of *Furſtenbergh*;and which he paſſionately deſir'd, to the end he might have ſo ſure and ſtedfaſt a footing in the Empire, that he might be able one day, to ſtrike home. But when he ſaw the ill ſucceſs of his Negociations; the Cardinal of *Furſtenbergh* diſappointed of a Dignity, wherein he thought to have had a greater ſhare than all his Rivals; the Pope not well inclin'd to favour him; the Emperor victorious; the Princes of the Empire reſolved to ſtand by Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, and the Peace with the Turk ready to be concluded, notwithſtanding all his Menaces, and the Approach of his Army near *Cologne*; all theſe things making him deeply ſenſible, that after all the Methods he had taken, his Honour was

too far engag'd to recoyle; and that the only thing to be conſider'd now, being whether to Attack, or be Attack'd, he judg'd it his Intereſt to begin, and reſolv'd to aſſail the Empire, though the Emperor had not ſtirr'd a foot. And to that purpoſe he ſits down before * *Philipsburgh*; which was Surrender'd in a ſhort time after to the Dauphin.

* Philipsburgh *was Beſieged the 6th of* October 1688. *and Capitulated the 29th of the ſame Month, and the 1ſt. of* November *the Imperial Gariſon went forth: that day being the* Dauphins *Birth-Day.*

For though the King of *France* well underſtood, that the Siege of that Town would be look'd upon by the Emperor, as a Rupture of the Truce, ſince himſelf was the firſt that offer'd Violence; nevertheleſs being deſirous to make the World believe, that his deſign was rather to defend himſelf, than aſſail others, he Publiſh'd a *Manifeſto*, wherein he gave ſeveral Reaſons, for his being compell'd to Invade the Empire: Proteſting that he had no other intention than to procure the Publick Repoſe. That he was ready to reſtore *Philipsburgh* after he had taken it and demoliſh'd the Fortifications, and to joyn *Friburgh* alſo with it, provided the Cardinal of *Furſtenbergh* might be put into Poſſeſſion of the Electorate of *Cologne*: that the Truce ſhould be chang'd into a perpetual Peace; if by vertue of that Peace he might keep all the Fortifications which he had built upon the *Rhine*, and all the Places which he had re-united to his Crown, in purſuance of the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Nimiguen*.

Sometime after the Emperor made anſwer to all the Reaſons of the *Manifeſto*; and having refus'd his Conſent, that the Truce ſhould be chang'd into a perpetual Peace, upon the Condi-

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Now in regard the Invaſion of the French upon *Germany* was a thing not foreſeen, either at *Vienna*, nor in any other Courts of the Empire, as being all lull'd aſleep under the Faith of a Truce for Twenty years, the King of *France* had no great Trouble to Conquer in a Country which he found without Defence. So that after the taking of *Philipsburgh*, he invaded the *Palatinate*, under the Pretence which is univerſally known, and ſeiz'd upon *Wormes* and *Spire*, put a French Gariſon into *Mayence*; Beſieged *Coblents* and Bomb'd it, after he had ravag'd all the County of *Treves*; threaten'd to Burn *Francfort*, ruin'd all the Countries round about by the exceſſive Contributions which he exacted from the People, and of a ſuddain ſaw himſelf Maſter of the *Rhine* from *Hunninghen* to *Cologne*, which declar'd for the Empire.

However the Seaſon was ſo far advanc'd, that it was impoſſible for the Emperor or the Princes intereſted to oppoſe the Progreſs of *France*. They were forc'd to let her do what ſhe pleas'd her ſelf. And the French Soldiers, who afterwards took up their Winter Quarters in the *Palatinate*, and other Countries newly conquer'd, committed a thouſand Barbarous Inhumanities, without any regard to Capitulations.

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But theſe Exorbitances unuſual and ſcarce heard of among Chriſtians, did not produce that Effect which *France* expected; they only ſerv'd to exaſperate the Princes and Neighbouring States of *Germany* to take more ſpeedy and ſeverer Courſes.

The Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*, the Duke of *Hanouer*, and the Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, after ſeveral Conferences together, both at *Magdeburgh* and other places, omitted nothing to put themſelves into a Condition to expel the Common Enemy, ſo ſoon as the Seaſon ſhould permit them to take the Field: and the Emperor, in a juſt Rage, took ſuch vigorous Reſolutions, that he could not forbear openly to ſay, That he hop'd his Armies would prove no leſs Victorious upon the *Rhine*, than upon the *Danaw*, and that he would humble the French, as he had humbled the Ottomans.

However notwithſtanding the firmneſs of his Reſolutions, the Emperor found himſelf but in a bad Condition. He had two Enemies to deal with at once, who conſidering the State of his Affairs, were both formidable, though not both equally Puiſſant.

The Peace which was in Negotiation with the Port, was not an Affair ſo ſoon to be concluded. For upon the Invaſion of the French into *Germany*, the Turks ſeem'd to have taken heart. Nor did the Ambaſſadors teſtifie that extraordinary earneſtneſs to come to a Concluſion as they did before. On the one ſide they ſtarted ſuch and ſuch Difficulties, and new Scruples: on the other ſide they deſir'd the conſent of the Venetians; but more eſpecially of the King

King of *Poland* who oppos'd the Peace, and without whom there could be nothing concluded, conſidering how greatly they were beholding to him. But this was not the only thing that peſter'd the Emperor; The Duke of *Lorrain* ſtill continu'd ill. And though there were great hopes that he would recover his Health, yet in the mean time the Emperor could not build upon the Services he could do him: for that ſuppoſing his Armies were ready to take the Field, yet he knew not what to determine in reſpect of the Duke, whoſe Preſence was no leſs neceſſary in *Hungary* than in *Germany*.

At this time, the Prince of *Orange* aſſiſted with Ships and Men out of *Holland*, made that unexpected Deſcent into *England*, with which all the World has rung, and which prov'd ſo fatal to King *James*, while it ſet all the reſt of *Europe* at Liberty, from the Bondage it had ſo long been groaning under. He ſet Sail from *Holland* the 15th of *November*, and the 26th of the ſame Month, the King of *France* declar'd War againſt the *United Provinces*, under pretence that they had engag'd with the Emperor, to croſs the Eſtabliſhment of the Cardinal of *Furſtenbergh* in the Electorate of *Cologne*. But there is no Perſon ſo dull in this Age as not to ſee that the King of *France* had other Motives than that. But however it were, that flouriſhing Republick was become a new Enemy to *France*, that gave the Emperor hopes he might be reveng'd of the French. In ſhort, the States General engag'd to aſſiſt him: and their Ambaſſador at the Port preſs'd with ſo much Earneſtneſs the Concluſion of the Peace, that it was not

not long of the toyle of that Miniſter, that his Endeavours did not ſucceed.

If the Emperor were afflicted for the Sickneſs of the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Duke was no leſs concern'd than he; and indeed till then, he had endur'd his Sickneſs with a wonderful Patience, but then he began to complain of his hard Fate. For Affairs were come to that paſs which he had wiſh'd for a long time. He ſaw a large Harveſt of Lawrels to be reap'd upon the Banks of the *Rhine*. He ſaw all the Princes of *Germany* unanimouſly inclin'd to enter into a Confederacy with the Emperor; and the Pope was his Friend: nor was there any Queſtion, but that *Spain* would be of the Confederacy, and that they might in time engage the Princes of the North, the Cantons of *Switzerland*, and all *Italy*. And in a word, the Duke muſt be thought very ſhort ſighted, not to ſee, that the only Revolution in *England*, was a blow that diſappointed all the King of *France*'s Meaſures. So that ſince the Death of *Charles* the Fourth, the Duke had never ſuch fair hopes of being reſtor'd to his Territories as now. He knew the People lov'd him; that they heartily wiſh'd for his return; and that they only waited an opportunity never ſo little favourable to ſhake off the Yoke of *France*. When he came to make theſe Reflexions, he was willing to be in *Germany*; but his Indiſpoſition kept him at *Inſpruck*. And whatever Hopes and Encouragement the Phyſitians gave him; he deſpair'd of ever being able to endure the Inconveniencies of a Campagne; and theſe thoughts, which entirely poſſeſs'd him, did him more Miſchief than

than the Ague that conſum'd him. If the Deſire of Health could have contributed to the Cure of his Malady, he had ſoon been rid of his trouble. For never did any Prince more ardently deſire to recover his Health, than he did. But they were ineffectual Deſires. However when he had the leaſt of hope to be in a Condition to act again, his Ague remitted: and it was ſo neceſſary, that this Commencement of his Recovery ſhould be known at *Vienna*, that he diſpatch'd away a Courier on purpoſe. And the Emperor being overjoy'd at the News, wrote back to him at the ſame time, that being his Counſel, and his Right Arm, he wiſh'd for his being near him, ſo ſoon as his Health would give him leave.

While the Duke was gathering Strength at *Inſpruck*, there was nothing omitted at *Vienna*, nor in all the Courts of the Empire, that might contribute to the ſucceſs of the next Campagne; ſo that when the Emperor perceiv'd that the Turkiſh Ambaſſadors took their advantage of the War which the French King had declar'd againſt him; and beſides, that the Peace which they Negotiated was impoſſible to be concluded, or at leaſt that it requir'd a long time to ſatisfie the Intereſts of the Venetians and the King of *Poland*, they took all the beſt Methods imaginable to make Head againſt the King of *France* and the Ottomans both at one time. Men were rais'd every where; and while the Forces of the Elector of *Saxony*, Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, and Duke of *Hanouer*, march'd to take up their Winter-quarters about *Francfort*, to be the more ready to Rendezvous

dezvous again as occaſion ſhould ſerve, the Emperor ſent ſix Regiments of Horſe, and four or five of Infantry toward the *Rhine*. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* alſo arriv'd at *Weizel*, where lay a great part of his choiceſt Men. The Biſhop of *Munſter* having declared for the Emperor, promis'd to put Eight hundred Men into *Cologne*, whither alſo the Elector of *Brandenburgh* was to ſend Two thouſand Dragoons. The *Hollanders* ſent Seven or Eight thouſand Men into the Country of *Juliers*; and apprehending leſt the French ſhould make themſelves ſole Maſters of the Electorate of *Mayence*, they ſent a conſiderable Force to ſeize upon the greateſt part of the Towns; and Eight Regiments of *Hanouer* advanced at the ſame time toward *Treves* to ſecure *Coblentz*, and the adjacent Countreys.

Theſe Proceedings of the German Princes, and the extraordinary Preparations that were making every where, did not a little alarum *France*; though ſhe had been deſigning this War a long time ago, and for that reaſon was provided with a much more numerous Army then that of the Confederates, ſurpriſed, by the Invaſion. Only becauſe ſhe had not foreſeen the Revolution in *England*, ſhe was no leſs apprehenſive of a Back-ſtroak from thence. However diſſembling her Fears, ſhe began with the *Palatinate*, *Wittemberg*, and ſeveral other Imperial Cities, where ſhe committed thoſe Abominated Acts of Inhumanity that all *Europe* trembles at; and at the ſame time that ſhe laid all in Aſhes, and gave her Soldiers all manner of Licence, ſhe threw about her Declarations every

every where, That ſhe deſir'd nothing more then Peace. And at the ſame time alſo ſhe made a particular Propoſal of Peace to the Emperor, imagining that her Hoſtilities had frighted *Vienna* out of her Senſes. And ſome report, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, to whom he gave ſome hopes of the Reſtitution of his Territories, ſolicited his Imperial Majeſty for an Accommodation. But that was a fiction impos'd upon him, there being nothing more diſtant from his thoughts. But on the other ſide, he wrote to him, that the Offers of an Enemy were never to be accepted; that they were always to be miſtruſted; that it behov'd him to declare War againſt *France*; that to make Peace with a Crown that always took the ſlighteſt Occaſions in the World to Violate it, would be a fault never to be forgiven; conſidering the good Condition of his Affairs by vertue of ſuch Potent Alliances. That as for what concern'd himſelf, the Intereſts of the Empire were his own, and that he would never act but with regard to the Common Cauſe; and that he would be bold to ſay, There was never a Prince in *Germany* but what was of his Mind; there being ſome who affirm'd, that there was no need of any Publick Declarations, ſeeing that without any Declaration preceding, the King of *France* had declared War againſt the Empire by Acts of open Hoſtility, not to be thought of without Horror. In a ſhort time after came forth the Reſult of the Dyet at *Ratisbonne*, full of Thundring Expreſſions againſt *Lewis* XIV.

I. That

I. That contrary to the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Nimeguen*, he had ſeiz'd upon ſeveral Places that belong'd to the Empire; That he had rais'd Cittadels, built Bridges upon the *Rhine*, cut down Woods, and had aſſum'd the Propriety of whole Countries to himſelf by vertue of his pretended Pretentions.

II. That in the Places ſo ſeiz'd and reunited, he had made moſt unjuſt Alterations as well in reference to the Spiritual as Temporal Government.

III. That to ſtop the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Arms againſt the Ottomans, he had attack'd the Empire by ſurprize, beſieg'd and taken *Philipsburgh*, invaded and oppreſs'd the Countreys, Cities, and Fortreſſes of ſeveral Electorates and other Principalities, violating the Treaties of Peace and Truce, and his Royal Aſſurances ſo often reiterated.

IV. That contrary to the Faith of Capitulations Signed by the Dauphin, he had Exacted from thoſe who had ſubmitted to him, exceſſive Contributions; had deſtroy'd by Fire, and the endurance of a thouſand Miſeries, whole Societies of People, who living under the ſecurity of the Truce, were ſurpriz'd without any Defence; that he had ſack'd and burnt whole Towns and Cities; not ſparing the Palaces of Princes, neither the Sacred Reſidencies of the Religious, nor the Eccleſiaſtical Monuments of Ancient Devotion.

V. That he had deſtroyed the Imperial Chamber, and had carried away all the Rolls, Records, Deeds, and Evidencies of the Imperial Crown.

VI. That

VI. That he would compel the Emperor by force to acknowledge the Cardinal of *Furſtenberg* to be Elector and Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, contrary to the Electoral Canons which had been made, and which the Pope had confirm'd.

VII. And laſtly, That he fill'd with Armed Soldiers that Electorate, and the Principalities adjoyning, from whence he had exacted vaſt Sums by Military Executions, and committed ſeveral other Spoils upon the Subjects of the Empire; omitting nothing whatever lay in his power to oppreſs their Liberties.

After which Enumeration of their Grievances, the Dyet declared *France* to be an Enemy to the Empire: adding withall,

I. That the War with that Crown ought to be reputed a Common War for the Preſervation of the Empire, and that it was declar'd to be ſuch.

II. That they would oppoſe againſt the Pretences of Religion maliciouſly invented in the King of *France*'s *Manifeſto*, to diſunite the Members of the Empire, a unanimous Union of all their Forces, to reſtore Things to their firſt Condition, and conſtrain the Enemy to repair the Damages he had done, and to give Security for the time to come.

III. That they would not entertain under any pretence whatever, any Correſpondence or Neutrality with *France*, nor with her Miniſters or Adherents; and that all thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt Her directly or indirectly, ſhould be declared Enemies.

IV. That Notice ſhould be given of this Reſult to all the Princes of *Italy*, to all Foreign Crowns and States, and generally to all that had Dependance upon the *Roman* Empire.

V. That his Imperial Majeſty ſhould be deſir'd to make a Peace with the Turk, to the end that by the joint Force of the Intereſted Princes, they might be enabl'd, the more ſtrenuouſly to carry on the War againſt *France*.

Laſtly, That they ſhould with all the ſpeed that might be agree together upon the Ways and Methods, how to ſupport and continue the War according to the Conſtitutions of the Empire.

This was the Reſult of that Dyet, which Prince *Herman* of *Baden* approv'd in every particular, in the Name of the Emperor, with this ſupply; 'That it being notorious, that the 'Crown of *France* had fomented the Rebellion 'in *Hungary*, and incited the Turk againſt his 'Imperial Majeſty, and that there was alſo cer-'tain Information given, that he had offer'd 'the *Ottoman Port* an Offenſive Alliance, with 'aſſurance, that as he had begun the War, to 'procure the Eſtabliſhment of that Empire, ſo 'he would not make a Peace without the Sul-'tans Conſent; there was a neceſſity for theſe 'Reaſons, to declare that Crown the Common 'Enemy not only of the Empire, but of all 'Chriſtendom, as well as the Turk himſelf; 'as was done in the year 1544 upon the like 'occaſion againſt *France*, by the general Aſ-'ſembly at *Spire*.

Nor were theſe only bare words; for the Emperor had no ſooner declar'd War againſt *France*,

France, but he ſtudied all the ways to maintain it. He erected Magazines in all places where he thought them neceſſary; he preſt the haſtning of the Levies which were already begun; he recall'd part of his Forces that were in ſervice againſt the Turks. And to the end that the Army which was to be ſent into *Germany* might be encourag'd by being under the Command of a Captain-General that was concern'd for the Succeſs of the Enterprize, he deſign'd the Elector of *Bavaria* for *Germany*, and the Duke of *Lorrain* for *Hungary*.

Not that it was leſs the Intereſt of the Duke of *Lorrain*, then of the Duke of *Bavaria*, to have *France* brought down. For the Concerns of Prince *Clement* were nothing in compariſon with thoſe of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was deſpoyl'd of his Territories by the Uſurpations of that Crown. But in regard the Emperor had a deſign to give two Blows at once, and for that the very Name of the Duke of *Lorrain* was become a Terrour to the Ottomans, he thought it neceſſary to appoint him againſt thoſe Enemies whom he had ſo often vanquiſh'd, believing that the Elector of *Bavaria*, fighting as well for his own proper Intereſts as thoſe of the Empire, would be no leſs formidable to *France*, then the other to the Ottoman Port, after ſo many famous Conqueſts of which he had his ſhare in the *Hungarian* Campagnes.

There was alſo another Reaſon which induced the Emperor to make choice of the Elector of *Bavaria* before the Duke of *Lorrain* to Command upon the *Rhine*, which was the Indiſpoſition of his Body; and becauſe *France*

was the Aggreſſour, whereas the Port was only upon the Offenſive Part; beſides, that there was all the Reaſon in the World, that the French would be ſtronger in *Germany*, then the Turks in *Hungary*; and therefore there was an abſolute neceſſity of oppoſing againſt *France* a General that was in perfect Health, and in a Condition early to take the Field.

Now at the ſame time that the Emperor had tak'n this Reſolution, and made it known to the World, that the Elector of *Bavaria* was to act upon the *Rhine* with a conſiderable Army, which advanced every day to join the Confederates, while the Duke of *Lorrain* proſecuted his Victories in *Hungary* toward the total reducing of that Kingdom, if his Health would permit him, he found himſelf perfectly recover'd; ſo that he felt himſelf in a Condition to leave *Inſpruck*, and attend the Emperor with his Counſels, in order to the taking ſuch Methods as were neceſſary for the carrying on the two great Deſigns.

And in regard there was nothing which the Duke more paſſionately deſired than to Command in *Germany*, ſo ſoon as he arrived at *Vienna*, he uſed all his endeavours to make the Emperor alter his Reſolutions: proteſting however at the ſame time, That he had no other will but the Emperors; That he was ready to march into *Hungary*; and he agreed with his Imperial Majeſty, that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in that Kingdom. Nevertheleſs, after he had made it appear, that the Turks would not be in a condition to undertake any thing Conſiderable, in regard the Ottomans

tomans were all raw Soldiers, New rais'd Men, or cow'd by the Victories of the Chriſtians: After he had laid before him, that he wanted not Politick and wary Generals to oppoſe againſt the Ottoman Army; but that the main Effort was to be made upon the *Rhine*, where the King of *France*, who had been a long time preparing for this War, would not fail to employ the Choice and Flower of all his Forces; His Imperial Majeſty conſidering, that the Dukes Preſence was more neceſſary in *Germany* than in *Hungary*, ſubmitted to his Reaſons, and reſolved at length after more mature deliberation, to have two Armies in *Germany*, the one Commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the other by the Duke, and to ſend Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* into *Hungary*, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf in *Boſnia*; where with four or five thouſand men he totally defeated an Army of twenty thouſand Turks.

At length the Seaſon for Conſultation and Preparations having given way to that of Action, the Duke of *Lorrain* departed from *Vienna*, and arrived with about fourteen or fifteen Thouſand men near *Coblentz*, where he was to joyn the Forces of the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landtgrave of *Heſſe*. The Elector of *Bavaria* marched toward the Upper *Rhine*, with an Army of ten Thouſand Bavarians, Seven thouſand Imperialiſts, and four thouſand Suabians; while the Elector of *Brandenburgh* advanced toward *Cleves* with about Twenty thouſand men of his own and the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s.

Theſe motions of the Confederate Armies were fatal to ſeveral Towns, as *Oppenheim*, *Worms*,

Worms and *Spire*, which had ſurrendred to the French, and flater'd themſelves that they ſhould be dealt with no otherwiſe than according to the Laws of War; but met with a deſtiny far more Cruel and Terrible than that of the Palatinate; for they were not only utterly conſumed by Fire, but beſides, the Inhabitants who had been permitted to carry away the beſt of their Goods, were expoſed to the plunder and fury of the Soldiers. For the French, who during the laſt Wars, had beſieged and taken ſeveral Towns and Cities before their Enemies were in a condition to take the Field, now quitted all thoſe which they had ſurpriſed after the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, except *Bon*, *Mayence*, *Keyſerwart*, and ſome other inconſiderable places; but at the ſame time that they quitted 'em, they ſet 'em on fire, and of one of the moſt delightfull Countries of *Europe* made a vaſt and hideous Deſart, after they had committed ſuch Acts of Barbarity and Inhumanity that after Ages will hardly believe.

During theſe Hoſtilities and Burnings, the Confederate Princes did not ſleep; they Expell'd the French out of ſome Forts, and petty places which they thought themſelves able to keep; they worſted them in ſeveral Encounters; and *Keyſerwart*, which the Duke of *Brandenburgh* beſieged, ſurrendred in four days after he had opened his Trenches: And now after ſo proſperous a Beginning which was taken for a good Omen, all the Generals met at *Francfort*, where they held a Council of War, wherein after they had Unanimouſly reſolved to give the Honour of the Command to the Duke of *Lorrain*,

rain, with a promiſe that they would never ſheath their Swords till they had reſtored him to his Dominions, they agreed to beſiege *Mayence* and *Bon*, before they made any farther attempts, ſince it was not ſafe to advance into the Enemies Country, before they were Maſters of thoſe two Towns.

Mayence was no conſiderable Town, before the King of *France* got poſſeſſion of it: but the Scituation of it was ſuch as to be able to ſtop the Imperialiſts. And therefore the King had no ſooner ſecur'd it with a French Gariſon, but he ordered it to be Fortify'd; and the Marquis *d'Uxelles* who was appointed Governor, continued the Work with ſo much aſſiduity, that it is incredible how ſtrong that City was become, while the French had it in their hands.

And in regard it was expected that the Confederates would beſiege it, it was Gariſon'd with above Ten thouſand men, the beſt and choiceſt Soldiers under the beſt Officers of *France*.

However, the difficulties of the Siege could not ſtop the Duke of *Lorrain*. Upon the 16th of *July* he croſſed a ſmall River two Leagues below the Town, with an Army of Twenty thouſand men, and preſently cauſed four thouſand Croats to advance, whom the French durſt not adventure to attacque, tho' they were ſally'd forth to meet them with a great Body of Horſe. The next day the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landtgrave of *Heſſe* paſſed the *Main*, above *Mayence*, and poſted their Men within Cannon-ſhot of the Town, on that ſide where the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Army began to encamp.

The 18th about three Thouſand Country People wrought in the Approaches: And the ſame day the French made a ſally, but were repulſed with extraordinary vigour by the Imperialiſts; at what time the Duke of *Bavaria* being arrived in the Camp, they prepared for a formal Siege, and to batter the Town.

Not to ſtop upon the particulars of the Siege, the Town was aſſaulted in three Places. The Duke of *Lorrain* commanded one Attack, and the Duke of *Saxony* and the Landtgrave of *Heſſe* the other two. The Beſieged defended themſelves deſperately, and their ſallies were ſo frequent and ſo mettleſome, that they often ruin'd in one, what the Confederates had been toyling ſeveral days to Erect. The Sixth of *Auguſt*, when leaſt expected, they ſallied out at Noon-day with about two thouſand pickt men, and fell with ſuch fury upon the *Saxons* Quarter, that they overturn'd all before 'em; but the Duke of *Lorrain* haſtning to the ſuccour of the Elector, the Imperialiſts, animated by the Preſence and Example of their General, repell'd the French with ſo much vigour, and fought with that fury, that above twelve hundred men on both ſides were number'd to cover the place with their dead Bodies. But this ſame Sally was nothing in Compariſon of another that followed ſome days after. For in the two former they had made a dreadfull ſlaughter, and cleared the Trenches; and therefore thoſe two Actions proving ſo ſucceſsfull, they reſolved to try a third Sally with three Thouſand men, Drums beating, and Colours flying. Now in regard that neither the Duke of *Lorrain*,

rain, nor any of the reſt of the Generals expected their Third Effort, it cauſed no ſmall Terror and Diſorder in the Camp, of which the Enemy taking their advantage, fell on Pell-Mell upon four or five hunder'd men, that ſold their Lives at a dear Rate; they nail'd two peices of Cannon, and having fill'd up the Trenches of the Confederates, poſted their great Guard of Horſe, where the Beſiegers had begun to open their Trenches. But at length the ſeveral Generals having rally'd and re-encourag'd their Men, they repell'd the Enemy, cut to peices a great number of them, and regain'd their Poſt.

And now the Duke of *Lorrain* being reſolved to try whether he could carry the Town by Storm, and fearing leaſt the French ſhould attempt to relieve it, wrote to the Elector of *Brandenburgh* to ſend him ſome Regiments of his Men, that being ſo reinforced he might be able both to carry on the Siege, and fight the Enemy in caſe they advanced to raiſe it. Which precaution was the more neceſſary, becauſe their ran a report, that Marſhall *Duraſs* was advancing with his Army, and orders to give the Confederates Battel. But it happen'd that the *Brandenburgh* Regiments were uſeleſs, for *Duraſs* never appeared.

After which, notwithſtanding the fierce Reſiſtance of the Beſieged, the Beſiegers by little and little gain'd the Outworks which the French poſſeſſed, and lodg'd themſelves therein. Batteries were rais'd in every one of the Attacks, and they made themſelves Maſters of ſo much Ground, while the Cannon open'd a wide Breach;

Breach; that the Duke reſolved a General Aſſault.

To which purpoſe all things were prepared in readineſs: And the next day after this Reſolution was approved by all the Generals at a Council of War, they began by break of day to play upon the Town from all the Batteries, and ſo continued till four in the Evening. At what time upon the throwing in of a Bomb, which was the Signal agreed on, they fell on, in every Quarter, with ſo much vigour and ſuch undaunted Courage, that after a Bloody Conteſt of three Hours and a half they carry'd the Counterſcarp.

At the beginning of the Aſſault, in regard the French were deſirous to keep the Town whatever it coſt, the ground was ſtrew'd with dead Carcaſſes: And the Imperialiſts were they that loſt moſt Men. For the Marquis *D'Uxelles*, who was acquainted with the Duke of *Lorrain*, believing the Hotteſt work would be at the Attack which he Commanded, he took not ſo much care of the other Attacks, that he might make the greater Reſiſtance againſt the Duke: So that the *Saxons*, and the Regiments of *Heſſe* and *Lunenburgh*, were Maſters of the Counterſcarp an Hour before the Imperialiſts. But notwithſtanding this Proſperous ſucceſs of the Beſiegers, the French continued firing their great Guns, and blew up three Mines that made a dreadfull havock. Nevertheleſs the *Saxons* and *Lunenburghers* purſued the Enemy to the very Gates of the Town, and the Imperialiſts lodg'd themſelves upon one of the Principal Baſtions, making way through

the

the very fire of the Cannon, and an infinite number of Bombs, that were thrown from the Town.

As the fight was deſperate on both ſides, ſo the loſs of the Confederates was very great; ſeveral Officers of Note, and a vaſt number of Common Soldiers. But in regard the loſs of the French, to whom the Germans gave no Quarter, was much greater, the Marquis *D'Uxelles*, no ſooner began to conſider with himſelf, but he ſaw that if he ſhould hold out any longer he ſhould looſe all his men. However he made a ſhew as if he intended to ſtand the t'other brunt. But when he ſaw that the Confederates began to fill up the Motes, with a purpoſe to aſſault the Town it ſelf, he deſired to Capitulate, and Hoſtages being given on both ſides, the Articles were concluded. * This Siege laſted not above two Months: And it is moſt certain that if the Beſiegers would have made uſe of their Bombs, they might have ſooner compelled the French to a Surrender, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of their Fortifications, and the number of their Cannon. But in regard the Generals were willing to preſerve *Mayence*, they choſe to ſpend a little longer time, with the loſs of a few more Men, than to deface the City, and at the end of the Siege to be the Maſters only of a heap of Ruins.

* *Mayence* was inveſted the 17th of *July* 1685, and ſurrendred the 11th of *September* following.

While the Duke of *Lorrain* ſignalized himſelf in *Germany*, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* obtain'd a conſiderable Victory over the Turks in *Servia*. Of which the Emperor received the News almoſt at the ſame time, that he had the Tidings of the taking *Mayence*. But notwithſtanding theſe

theſe Succeſſes as well upon the *Rhine* as in *Moravia*; other ill News render'd his rejoycing imperfect. For the French to repair the loſs they had received, continuing their Hoſtilities after the ſame manner as they began, Burnt all before 'em from *Heidelburgh* to *Strasburgh*; and at length made *Frankendale* taſte of their Mercy; the only Town in the *Palatinate*, which till then they had ſpar'd.

At the ſame time that the Confederates laid Siege to *Mayence*, they determin'd alſo the Siege of *Bon*, to make themſelves Maſters of two Cities at a time if it were poſſible. The Duke of *Brandenburgh* who was to Attack that Place, and who had already carried the Fort of *Bael*, made tryal at firſt to reduce the Town by his Cannon and Bombs; as being willing to ſpare his own and the Confederates Men. To which purpoſe, he was no ſooner ſate down before the Town with part of his, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s Men, together with ſome *Holland* Regiments, but he fell to raiſing his Batteries. The Effect was quick and terrible; for in leſs than two Days the City was deſtroy'd and laid in Aſhes, all but one great Tower, and one Church, which the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s Men at laſt quite ruin'd with their Cannon. But all this was ſo far from diſcouraging the French, that inſtead of Surrendring they made continual Sallies; ſo that the Elector reſolv'd to have laid a formal Siege to the Place. To which purpoſe, all things were prepar'd in a readineſs; and there was no queſtion but the City would have been carried in a ſmall time, after the Havock which the Bombs had made. But when all

all things were juſt ready, the Elector receiv'd three pieces of News that broke all his Meaſures.

The firſt was from the Elector of *Treves*, That the Marquis of *Boufflers* having drawn together a conſiderable Body, was advanc'd towards *Coblents*, which conſtrain'd him to ſend away General *Schoning* with a Detachement of Seven or Eight thouſand Men to defend thoſe Parts. The ſecond was from Prince *Waldeck*, who finding himſelf not ſtrong enough in Horſe to deal with Marſhal *d'Humieres*, ſent for the Dutch Cavalry, then before *Bon*. Which conſtrain'd him to ſend away a Detachement of Seven Regiments. The third was from the Duke of *Lorrain*, then before *Mayence*, who deſir'd a Reinforcement of Men, as has been already obſerv'd, in regard of the Reſolution he had taken to Storm that Place. So that the Elector was forc'd to ſend away a third Detachement, which weaken'd his Army ſo very much, that finding he was no longer able to carry on the Siege, he only block'd it up at a Diſtance.

Which though it ſtreighten'd the Place conſiderably; and that the Gariſon were extreamly weaken'd every day by Diſeaſes that ſwept away the Soldiers; and that they were in great want of all things, nevertheleſs the Count *d'Aſfeild* who commanded there, would by no means think of Surrendring, but made continual Sallies. For he imagin'd that the Confederates had work enough before *Mayence*, and therefore could not be in a Condition to Beſiege him till that Affair were over, in which Interim he might

might be reliev'd, and ſtrong enough to deal with the Duke of *Brandenburgh*. But while he fed himſelf with theſe Hopes, *Mayence* Surrender'd, and that News which he ſo little expected, ſtrook the Gariſon with ſuch a Conſternation, that the Duke of *Brandenburgh* having Summon'd the Town, the Governor deſir'd to Capitulate; but his Conditions were thought ſo unreaſonable, conſidering the Condition of his Affairs; that a Siege was reſolv'd on, and two days after effectually proſecuted.

Nevertheleſs *Mayence* was no ſooner reduc'd, but the Saxons who were extreamly tired during the Siege, were ſent into new Quarters to refreſh themſelves; The Bavarians advanc'd toward the *Palatinate*; and one part of the Imperialiſts march'd with the Duke toward *Bon*. So that the Forces which had already form'd the Siege, having receiv'd ſo conſiderable a Recruit, the Duke of *Lorrain* immediately began to ſink his Approaches, and raiſe his Batteries, which was done with ſo much diligence, that in two or three days they were ready for a General Aſſault. I ſhall ſay no more, but that the Trenches were run on to the Foot of the Counterſcarp, and that the Breaches being made, all things were ready for Battery, though the continnal Rains for ſome days, delay'd the General Aſſault; but then the Weather proving fair, the 9th of *October* was fix'd. The Brandenburghers, Dutch, and Biſhop of *Munſter*'s Men were appointed to Attack the Counterſcarp, Half Moon, and Covert Way; and the Duke of *Lorrain*, who ſome days before was got within a hunder'd Paces of the Horn-

work,

work, with the Heſſiens, Lunenburghers, and thoſe others which he brought from *Mayence*, undertook the Storming of that Hornwork.

The French diſputed long the Covert Way, firing moſt dreadfully upon the Aſſailants. But at length the Count of *Dona* leading on the *Grand Muſqueteers*, and the *Younger Brothers* of *Brandenburgh* having broken down the Paliſadoes, they fell Pell-mell upon all that ſtood in their way, and after a horrible Slaughter, carried the Half Moon, and lodg'd themſelves upon the Counterſcarp. The Hollanders alſo, and Munſterians ſignalized themſelves highly in this Onſet, venturing through the Fire of the Great and Small Shot with ſuch an undaunted Courage, that they loſt above Five hundred Men, and had Seven or Eight hundred Wounded. The Brandenburghers were not ſo rudely handled, but they loſt ſeveral Officers of Note; and among the reſt Monſieur *de St. Bonnet*, who after he had performed ſeveral great Actions at the Head of a Regiment in *Candy*, in the Service of the King of *France*, and in the laſt Campagnes of *Hungary*, where he ſerv'd a Volunteer, had alſo made himſelf no leſs remarkable in the Service of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

While theſe things thus paſs'd in the *Brandenburgh* Attack, the Enemy was aſſail'd with no leſs vigor in that which the Duke of *Lorrain* Commanded. 'Tis true, his Men were repulſed with much Gallantry at firſt; but that Bravery ſerving only to incenſe them the more, and ſtimulate their Courage, they return'd with ſuch an unwelcom fury, that they diſhearten'd French, after they had ſprung two Mines, re-

tired into the Town, ſo that the Duke of *Lorrain* lodg'd his Men upon the middle of the Hornwork, with the loſs of no more than a Hundred and thirty Men.

Nor did the Duke or the reſt of the Generals think fit to ſtop there; they were all reſolv'd to enter the Town alſo by main Force; more eſpecially the Duke of *Lorrain*. But the Count *d' Hasfeldt*, who was himſelf dangerouſly wounded in the Defence of the Half Moon, ſeeing all the Outworks loſt, and fearing a ſecond Aſſault, reſolv'd at length to Surrender. So that having ſent out the Major of the Regiment of *Caſtres*, who was Conducted to his Highneſs of *Brandenburgh*, by Monſieur *Doroſey* his Adjutant Camp-Maſter General, and that Major having preſented him a Draught of a Capitulation, the Propoſals were generouſly accepted, though extreamly Advantageous to the Governor, conſidering the Extremity he was in. But the Seaſon being far ſpent, it was thought the beſt to preſerve good Soldiers, by granting a fair Compoſition to thoſe who had bravely done their Duty *. For in ſhort, it is moſt certain, that never any Gariſon was better defended than this.

*Bon *was formally beſieged ſome days after the taking of* Mayence; *Count* Hasfeldt *Capitulated the* 12*th of* Octob. 1685. *and three days after the Gariſon went out.*

It may be ſaid that the Emperor had all the Advantages he could deſire, conſidering the Condition of his Affairs: Victory accompanied his Arms, wherever they advanc'd. For at the ſame time that *Bon* was reduced, the Marquis of *Baden* took *Niſſa*, after he had defeated the Turks in a Battel fought not far from that Town, wherein the Infidels loſt between ſeven and Eight thouſand Men, their Artillery, all their Proviſions and Baggage. 'Twas

'Twas thought the Confederates would have undertaken ſome other Siege. But the Soldiers were ſo tired, and the Seaſon ſo incommodious, that all the Generals began to think of reſting themſelves, and preparing for the next Campagne.

Therefore the Duke of *Lorrain*, after he had diſpos'd of his Men in their Winter Quarters, departed for *Vienna*. Only he ſtayed ſome time at *Ratiſbonne*, where he found that the Dyet had made ſeveral terrible Edicts againſt *France*. For that Aſſembly not only forbid the Subjects of the Empire all manner of Communication and Commerce with the French; not only ordain'd their Expulſion from all the Courts of the Empire, of what Quality ſoever or Profeſſion they were, even the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons themſelves; but alſo declared moreover, That any Foreign State that ſhould propoſe any thing in favour of *France*, ſhould be reputed an Enemy to the Emperor, and the Confederates.

As for the D. of *Lorrain*, he had caus'd frequent Memorials to be preſented to the Dyet, wherein he ſet forth, that the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, having been wreſted from his Uncle, *Charles* IV. after ſuch a manner, as all *Europe* well knew, it was not juſt that the Heirs of that Prince ſhould be depriv'd of them all their life-time; wherefore the Dukes of *Lorrain* being Princes of the Empire, and Members of the Circle of the *Upper Rhine*, he had addreſs'd himſelf to that Aſſembly, to demand of them, that he might be aſſiſted by main force

againſt the King of *France*: alledging that though that Monarch had in ſome meaſure acknowledged at the Peace of *Nimeghen*, that he detain'd certain Dominions that did not lawfully appertain to him; yet he offer'd no Promiſe of Reſtitution, but upon Conditions ſo hard and unjuſt, that he could not accept them; as he had order'd his Ambaſſadors to declare in the Aſſembly of the Plenipotentiaries. By the Conſtitutions of *Germany*, when any Member of the Empire is diſturbed in the Poſſeſſion of his Territories, or happens to be deſpoil'd of them, all the reſt of the Princes of that Circle are bound to defend him, and uſe all their Endeavours for his Reſtoration: and by the ſame Conſtitutions, if that Circle is not ſufficiently Powerful to effect it, the Circles adjoyning are to aſſiſt. And if the adjoyning Circles are not ſtrong enough to do the oppreſſed Prince juſtice, then the whole Empire is oblig'd to undertake his Defence; and the Emperors themſelves make the ſame engagement, in the Capitulations which they Sign at their Election, and when they receive the Imperial Crown. Now as the Dyet of *Ratisbonne* repreſents the Body of the Empire, the Duke had had recourſe to that Aſſembly to be reſtor'd to his Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, with a deſign to ſollicit and preſs them, to make uſe of all the neceſſary means to compel *France* to make Reſtitution upon reaſonable Terms. But notwithſtanding the great Inclination of the Dyet to have given the Duke a favourable Anſwer, the beſt part of the Princes of the Empire had

had ſo many Cautions to obſerve, and were ſo entangled with the Court of *France*, that all the Remonſtrances which the Duke had made himſelf, or caus'd to be made, prov'd always fruitleſs. For in ſhort, ſince *France* was become ſo Potent, The Territories of the Duke of *Lorrain* lay too conveniently, conſidering the Proſpects that he had, for him to come to any friendly Accommodation, but upon the Terms which he propos'd at *Nimeghen*; and perhaps he had made ſuch as ſhould have been infinitely much harder, ſeeing that the greateſt part of the Princes of the Empire were bound to furniſh the Emperor with Forces, to continue his Conqueſts in *Hungary*. And as Affairs then ſtood, there was no compelling *France* to make the Duke Reſtitution, but by Declaring War againſt her, which *Germany* could not undertake, as having at the ſame time to do with the Ottoman Port. And this the Duke of *Lorrain* knew well enough himſelf. However theſe were Formalities which he was obliged to obſerve, and of which he might make uſe in Seaſon; for that Great Prince had his future Proſpects as well as others. In ſhort, therefore, the Reaſons which had oblig'd the Dyet not to give any Effectual Anſwer in his behalf now ceaſing, ſince *France* had Declared War againſt the Empire by laying Siege to *Philipsburgh*, the Duke laying hold of the Circumſtance, and reckoning much upon the great Services he had done the Emperor, and which he was going to do him in *Germany*,

he preſented a New Memorial to the Dyet, to which the Dyet having return'd him an Anſwer to his Wiſh, he had certainly made a puſh for it, at the Beginning of the Spring. But Death ſurprized him, when he leaſt expected that Fatal Blow, and at a time that he ſaw himſelf arrived at the very Eve of a Triumphant Holiday. All things ſeem'd to Promiſe this Illuſtrious Prince, that the ſame Victorious Fortune that had accompanied him in *Hungary* with ſo much Glory, would attend him ſtill in *Germany*: the taking of *Mayence* and *Bon* were ſufficient to preſage it. He had by his Valour cut out a Glorious Way to re-enter his Dominions, as ſoon as he appear'd upon the *Rhine*. But he had the Deſtiny of that Great Captain of the People of God, ſo famous in Sacred Hiſtory, to ſee the Promis'd Land, but not the Happineſs to enter into it.

This Prince, whoſe loſs the Confederates will have reaſon long to bemoan, as they have already found by Experience the laſt Campagne, gave himſelf almoſt no repoſe; in the midd'ſt of thoſe Deſigns he had to give but one fair Blow, to diſappoint the meaſures of *France*, and which it was impoſſible for her to have Fended off. He ſtuddied Night and Day the means to humble that Crown; and knowing 'twas impoſſible to accompliſh his Deſires, but by taking extraordinary Methods, and making vaſt Preparations, he was always in Action. He had been oblig'd for ſome time to be abſent from the

the Imperial Court; where the Affairs of War call'd him, which were the ſole Affairs that employ'd him, and in which he took delight. But in regard the Emperor determin'd upon nothing, but what was debated before hand, and had therefore deſir'd that the Duke might be at *Vienna*, where there was a Council of War to be call'd, he was upon the Road thither, and was arriv'd at *Weltz*, a ſmall Village within three Leagues of *Lintz*, when he was ſeiz'd by the Malady of which he died; and which has put all *Europe* in Mourning. He felt at firſt a Pain in one Ear; but not apprehending any Danger from ſo ſlight a Matter, he ſaid nothing of it: However he was much troubled with it all that Night, and the next Morning when he roſe about Four of the Clock, believing he might be able to continue his Journey, he went to Church, to pay his Devotions to Heaven; but the Pain conſiderably increaſing, he was forc'd to retire to his Inn, and go to Bed.

The Deſluxion in his Ear, falling down about half an hour after upon his Throat, his Phyſician let him Blood, as he deſir'd himſelf. But that Remedy producing no Effect, on the other ſide his Pain becoming ſtill more violent, and finding his Strength decay, thoſe ſad Symptomes put him out of doubt that he was near his End. And the thoughts of this ſtrook him all of a ſudden; but then recollecting with himſelf, that Princes were ſubject to dye as well as other

Men, he put himſelf into the Hands of his Creator, ſent for the Capuchins, made his Confeſſion, and endeavour'd to acquit himſelf of thoſe Duties which the laſt moments of Life require.

Immediately after he call'd his Confeſſor aſide, and charg'd him with two Letters, one to be deliver'd into the Emperor's own Hands, with a Note containing theſe *Latin* Words.

Sacræ Ceſareæ Majeſtati Commendat ſe, & Ultimum Vale dicit Carolus Lotharingiæ Dux.

Charles Duke of *Lorrain* Recommends himſelf to his moſt Sacred Imperial Majeſty, and bids him his laſt Farewell.

The other Letter was for the Queen his Wife. By the firſt he Recommended to the Emperor that Illuſtrious Princeſs, his Children, his Domeſtick Servants, and the *Lorrainers*: And by the ſecond he Recommended his Children and his Domeſtick Servants to the Queen; after he had giv'n her a thouſand Marks of his tender Affection, and his Sorrow for ſo Harſh a Separation.

All this while he grew weaker and weaker; yet as his Strength decay'd, you might read in his Eyes and his Countenance, and obſerve in all his Words, that his Piety fortify'd him, and that he had reſign'd himſelf over to dye.

The Father-Guardian of the Capuchins of *Weltz*, with nine others of his Order, exhorted him

him while he had time, to diſpoſe of himſelf, and then approaching near the Bed to Kiſs his Hand, he drew it back, only deſir'd 'em all to to ſay the Office of the Dead, which they prepar'd to do, but while they were reciting the Prayers, his Speech began to fail him.

This Symptom was as it were the laſt Signal of the Death of that Illuſtrious Prince, but it nothing terrify'd him. He then made a ſign for Paper and Ink; and wrote, That he deſir'd nothing elſe but that they ſhould Pray for his Soul. He had his right Sence and Judgment to the laſt Gaſp. At length, after he had caus'd ſeveral Prayers to be ſaid, finding himſelf ready to expire, he made another ſign that they ſhould Pray to God for him, and ſome minutes after he gave up the Ghoſt. This was the next day after he fell ill, being the 18th of *April*, 1690, at the beginning of the Forty ninth year of his Age. The Phyſicians ſaid that he was choak'd with a Catarrh.

Charles the Fifth of *Lorrain* was a great Hero. He had a noble Air; though he affected an extraordinary plainneſs in his Habit; and though he were not at all proud, but modeſt and ſober in all his Actions. He was well ſhap'd when he was Young; but too much Corpulency had alter'd his Proportion. You may ſee, through the whole Series of this Hiſtory, that he was Courageous, and Born for Warlike Atchievements. But the Qualities and Perfections of this great Prince were not only Military. He was a great Lover of Learning and Reading, eſpecially of Hiſtory and Politicks. He was

a perfect Maſter of three Languages, *Dutch*, *French*, and *Italian*, and underſtood *Latin* well: He was a Man of few words, but when he ſpoke, it was to the purpoſe. He was grave and ſerious with Strangers, however without Affectation, but with his particular Acquaintance Pleaſant and Familiar. He went to the bottom of all things he Diſcours'd of; and hated Impertinence. He lov'd familiar Diſpute; And he took great delight to maintain what he propounded, and he would uphold it ſtrongly: but it was not ſo much to convince thoſe with whom he diſputed, as to underſtand their Parts and Character. He was as liberal as his Fortune would permit him to be; a great Obſerver of his Word; a good Friend; and an eaſie Pard'ner of Injuries. His Deſigns were all great, and deeply laid. He provided without any relaxation for the Future: particularly applying himſelf to the moſt proper means to eſtabliſh his Family. Laſtly, He was an Exemplar of Devotion, with the ſame equality of Mind entertaining his Proſperities and Adverſities, relying wholly upon Providence.

He left four Children by his Marriage with the Queen of *Poland*, the eldeſt of which is now Duke of *Lorrain*, by the Name of *Leopold* the Firſt.

Never was Prince more generally bewail'd then *Charles* V. and indeed all *Europe* was ſenſible of her loſs. And ſhe had reaſon to mourn for the loſs of an Experienc'd Captain; one of the greateſt Generals in the Confederate Armies:

mies: A Captain, whoſe Prudence and Valour began to be dreadful to *France*. In a word, a Prince that was not to be corrupted, and who acted leſs for his own Intereſts, then for the Intereſts of the Confederate Princes. But ſhe has reaſon more particularly to mourn, that he dy'd at a time, that he was juſt upon the point of reſtoring his Family to it's Ancient Luſter, and to deliver his Subjects from the Yoke of Tyranny and Oppreſſion; and for that by his Death, he left a diſconſolate Family. In ſhort, it was obſerv'd, that thoſe Princes who had moſt reaſon to bewail his Death, were not ſo ſorry for themſelves as for the young Princes, who at the ſame time that they loſt their Illuſtrious Father, ſeem'd to looſe all the Hopes that began to ſooth their Expectations.

The Duke of *Newburgh* who was compell'd to fly for Relief to *Vienna*, after the French had deſpoil'd him of his Country, declar'd to the Queen Dowager, that the Deſolations of his Electorate did not go ſo near his Heart as the Loſs of the Duke her Husband, and that the Princes his Children, look'd upon him as their Protector, who was no leſs ſincerely mindful of their Intereſts then his own. Several other Princes condol'd her loſs in very near the ſame Language. And the Elector of *Brandenburgh* wrote at the ſame time to the Emperor, deſiring his Majeſty would vouchſafe him the Favour of ſharing with him the Quality of being a Father to the young Princes: adding withall, That as he had promis'd

mis'd *Charles* V. never to lay down Arms, till he were reſtor'd to his Territories, ſo he would continue the ſame Promiſe in behalf of the Succeſſors to ſuch a Hero, whoſe loſs he ſhould deplore as long as he liv'd. Some time after, the Emperor conferr'd the Government of *Tyroll* upon the young Duke. And the Pope has already granted to another of the Princes a Diſpenſation to be Coadjutor of the Grand Priory of *Caſtile*, which is worth above Two hundred thouſand Crowns a Year.

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